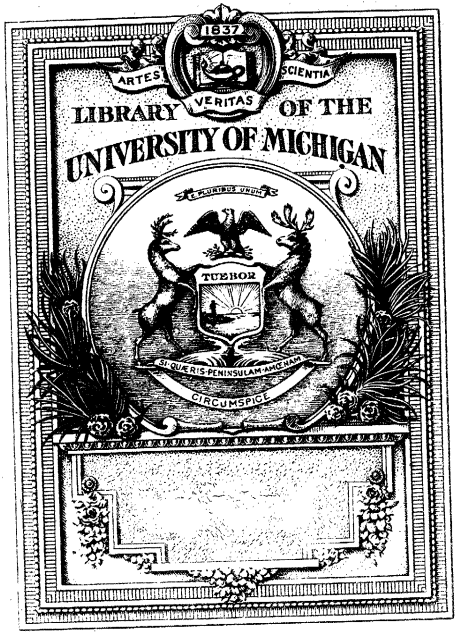
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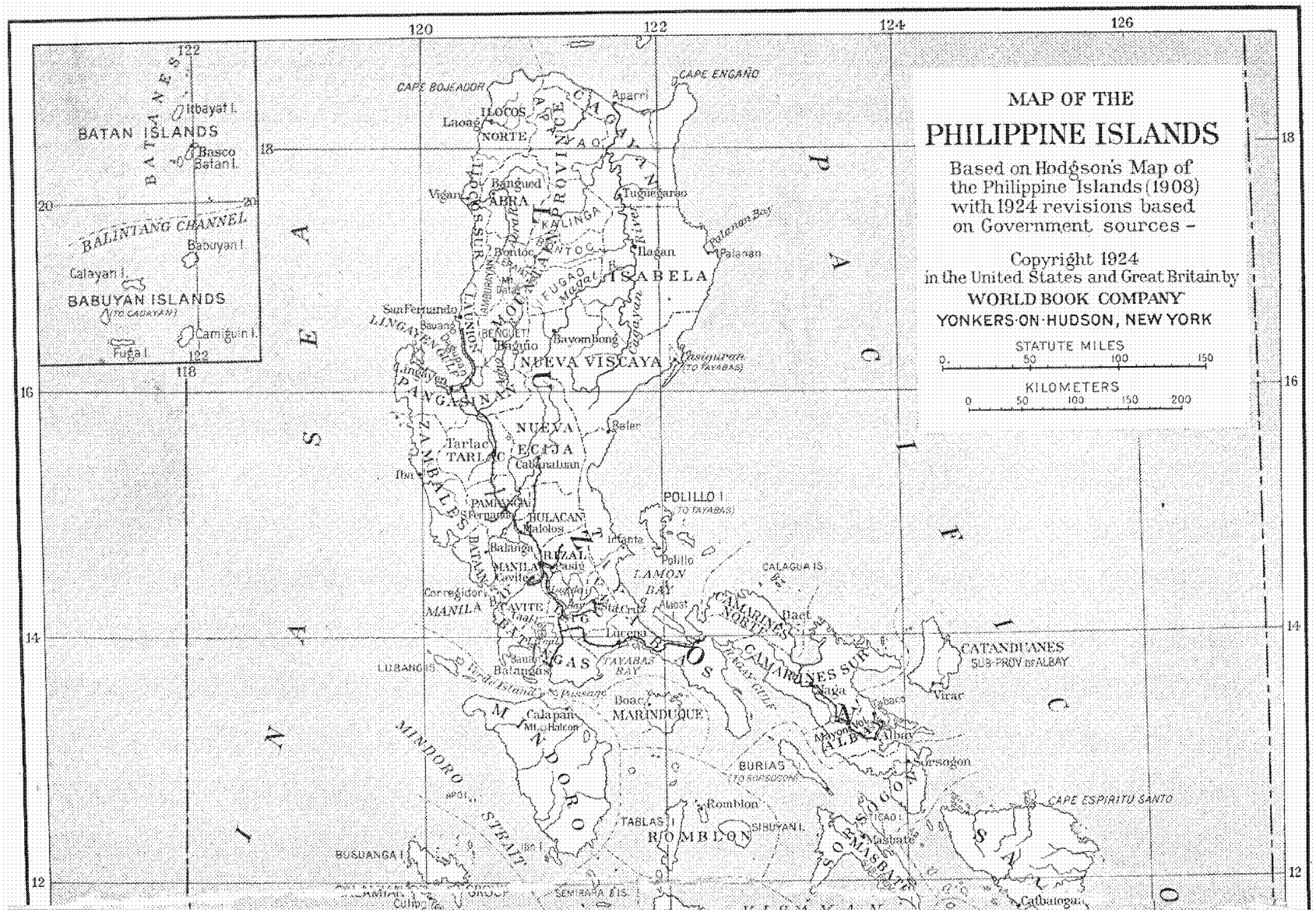
MAP OF THE
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
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WORLD BOOK COMPANY
YONKERS-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK
STATUTE MILES
0 50 100 150
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BATAN ISLANDS
BALINTANG CHANNEL
BABUYAN ISLANDS
CAPE BOJEADOR
CAPE ENGAÑO
ILOCOS NORTE
ABRA
KALINGA
ISABELA
NUEVA VISCAYA
NUEVA ECIJA
TARLAC
PAMPANGA
BULACAN
RIZAL
MANILA
CAVITE
BATAAN
BATANGAS
LAGUNA
TAYABAS
CAMARINES NORTE
CAMARINES SUR
ALBAY
SORSOGON
CATANDUANES
SUB-PROV. OF ALBAY
MARINDUQUE
MINDORO
ROMBLON
BURIAS
CAPE ESPIRITU SANTO
LUBANG IS.
CALAGUA IS.
POLILLO I.
LAMON BAY
MANILA BAY
TAYABAS BAY
BUSUANGA I.
SEMIRARA IS.


Longitude 122 East from Greenwich
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Cuyo
Linapacan I.
DUMARAN I.
Puerto Princesa
CAGAYAN IS.
TUBBATAHA REEFS
BUGSUK I.
BALABAC I.
Balabac Strait
CAMIGUIN IS.
SUBSEQUENT TREATY
CAGAYAN SULU I. (TO SULU)
PARIS TREATY LINE
PANAY
CAPIZ
Roxas
Iloilo
San Jose de Buenavista
GUIMARAS I.
Bacolod
NEGROS
OCCIDENTAL
ORIENTAL
Dumaguete
SIQUIJOR I.
Cebu
Mactan I.
Danao
Tacloban
Ormoc
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Sogod
Loreto
DINAGAT I.
SIARGAO I.
Dapa
Surigao
Gigaquit
BOHOL
Tagbilaran
Tangalan I.
Talibon
Ubay
Bohol Sea
Tarlac Str.
Cangao Channel
Surigao Strait
Surigao Str.
CAMIGUIN I.
Lanuza
Tandag
Butuan
AGUSAN
Linanga Bay
Cateel Bay
MINDANAO SEA
ILIGAN BAY
Iligan
Cagayan
Mt Malindang
Singangan
Dansalan
Lanao
BUKIDNON
Malaybalay
MINDANAO
ILLANA
CLUTANGA I.
Cotabato
Mitimanao R.
COTABATO
L. Buluan
Davao
SAMAL I.
DAVAO
DAVAO GULF
Mayo Bay
Pujada Bay
CAPE S. AGUSTIN
Buayan
Sarangani Bay
Tinaca Pt.
Palmas I.
SARANGANI IS.
Basilan Strait
Zamboanga
Isabela
BASILAN I.
(TO ZAMBOANGA)
PANGUTARANG IS.
North Ubian I.
Jolo
JOLO I.
Tapul I.
Lugus I.
Siasi I.
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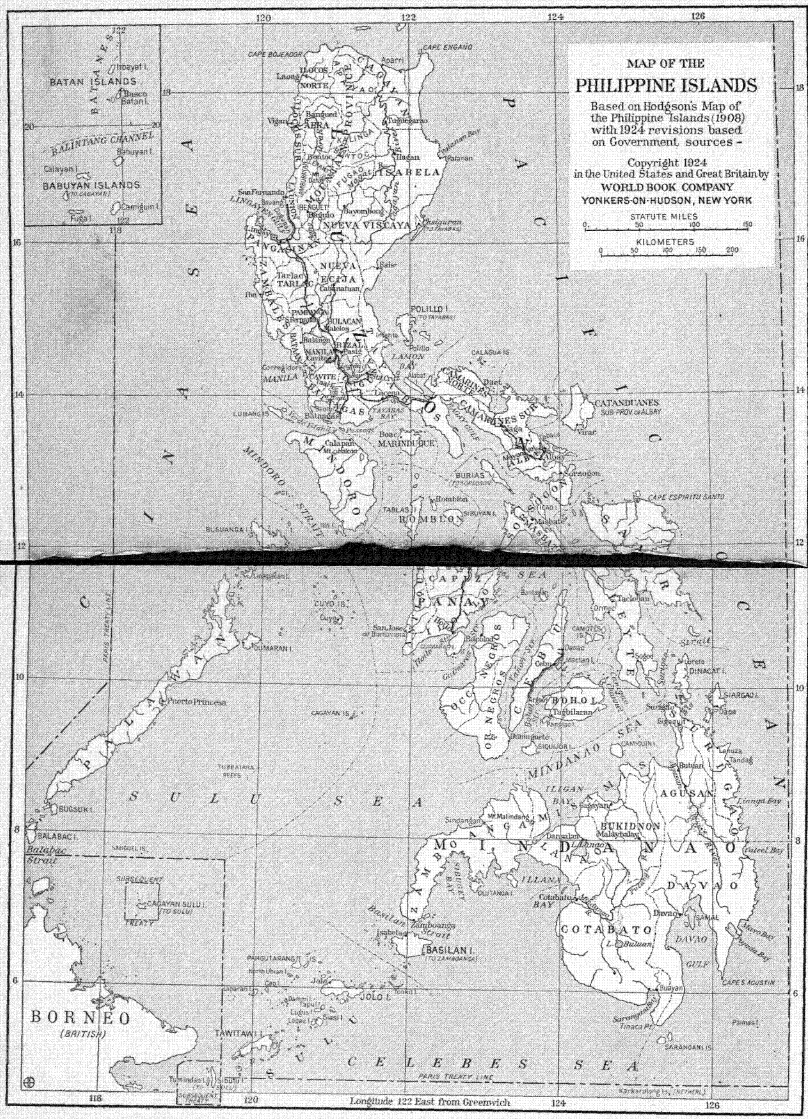
Tumindao I.
Sibutu I.
(TO SULU)
SUBSEQUENT TREATY
Karkaralong Is. (NETHERL.)



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HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINES

By DAVID P. BARROWS, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Political Science, University of California
Formerly City Superintendent of Schools, Manila, 1900–01
Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes of the Philippines, 1901–03
Director of Education for the Philippines, 1903–09
Formerly President of the University of California

REVISED EDITION

1926

Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York
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THE HOUSE OF APPLIED KNOWLEDGE

Established 1905 by Caspar W. Hodgson

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2126 PRAIRIE AVENUE, CHICAGO

The work of the Bureau of Education of the Philippine Government will constitute a monument to the epoch of the American occupation of the Philippine Islands more enduring than the fortifications on Corregidor. English speech and familiarity with the precepts of democracy, which in less than a generation have been carried to the remotest corners of the Archipelago, will always attest the joint labors of Filipinos and Americans for the promotion of learning and the spread of good will. But the remarkable success of the Bureau of Education would not have been possible except for a worthy background of culture. That background is revealed in the history of the three hundred years of Spanish occupancy and in the account of the pre-Spanish culture of the Islands. To set out briefly and justly the story of the centuries of civilization in the Islands has been the purpose of Dr. David P. Barrows in writing his *History of the Philippines*. As a Director of the Insular Bureau of Education during its formative period and as a friendly student of Philippine affairs for many years, he knows his subject matter. This essentially new book brings the story of the Islands down to date; and it gives the publishers no little satisfaction to be able to offer it as one of their "Books that apply the world's knowledge to the world's needs"

BHP: REV. ED.-3

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE.

THIS history of the Philippines was first produced in 1901–1903 when I was Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. Much of it was written in the field while engaged in reconnaissance and negotiations among the non-civilized and Mohammedan peoples with whose interests I was then charged. While the conditions were somewhat unfavorable to authorship, there were corresponding advantages. The great drama of Spanish colonial empire had just been brought to an end by the Spanish-American War. For three and a third centuries Spaniards had toiled in the Philippines to consolidate their authority and spread their civilization. To live intimately in those intense years of transition among the peoples whom they had governed and to pass repeatedly over the field of their labors, was of aid in fixing impressions that would have been less perceptible at a different time and at a distance from the scene.

Twenty-five years ago there was in Manila no public library of books and documents dealing with the history of the Islands, but there was more than one excellent private collection, and it was then much easier than it is now to obtain from shops or collectors the better known publications. These I secured, though not generally in original editions. The historical writings, both Spanish and foreign, upon Philippine history are surprisingly abundant, almost always interesting, and frequently marked by vivid and

powerful description. The colonial Spaniard here, as in America, wrote well and worthily perpetuated the record of his achievements.

Since the date when this book was first written, the collection of source materials made by the late Miss Blair and Dr. Robertson has been published in fifty-five volumes by the Arthur H. Clark Company. A priceless collection of Philippine books and documents, made at public expense and partly by the purchase of several private collections, has been established in Manila. The strong feelings of the period succeeding the Spanish-American War, under the influence of which this book was written, have disappeared from the hearts of both nations. Doubtless it is possible now to see more clearly the character of the colonial achievement of Spain and to judge it better. If today I were writing an entirely new book, I should find more to praise but not less to blame. Nevertheless, in spite of the apparent disadvantages under which this book was prepared, I still think it a just depiction of the Spanish and American work in the Philippines and of the remarkable rise in experience and social capacity of the Filipino race.

There have been minor changes made throughout the book. The original first chapter, which dealt with methods and materials of historical study, has been omitted; so have certain pages at the end of the first edition, as the matters there discussed are treated in the two chapters which have been added. The first of these additional chapters, "A Decade of American Government," was written in 1913 and published as a small volume with a Prologue, which is now omitted. The present final chapter, "Towards Independence," is new.

I will ask the general reader to bear in mind that this

book was written for Filipino students seeking information not only of their own race and island home but of the place of that race in the history of the Far East and of Europe. This accounts for the effort here made to tell the reader what was going on in the Western world during the four centuries that followed Magellan's discovery and how progress and struggle elsewhere affected the human spirit on the shores of Luzon and the Bisayas.

DAVID P. BARROWS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS.

LIST OF MAPS.

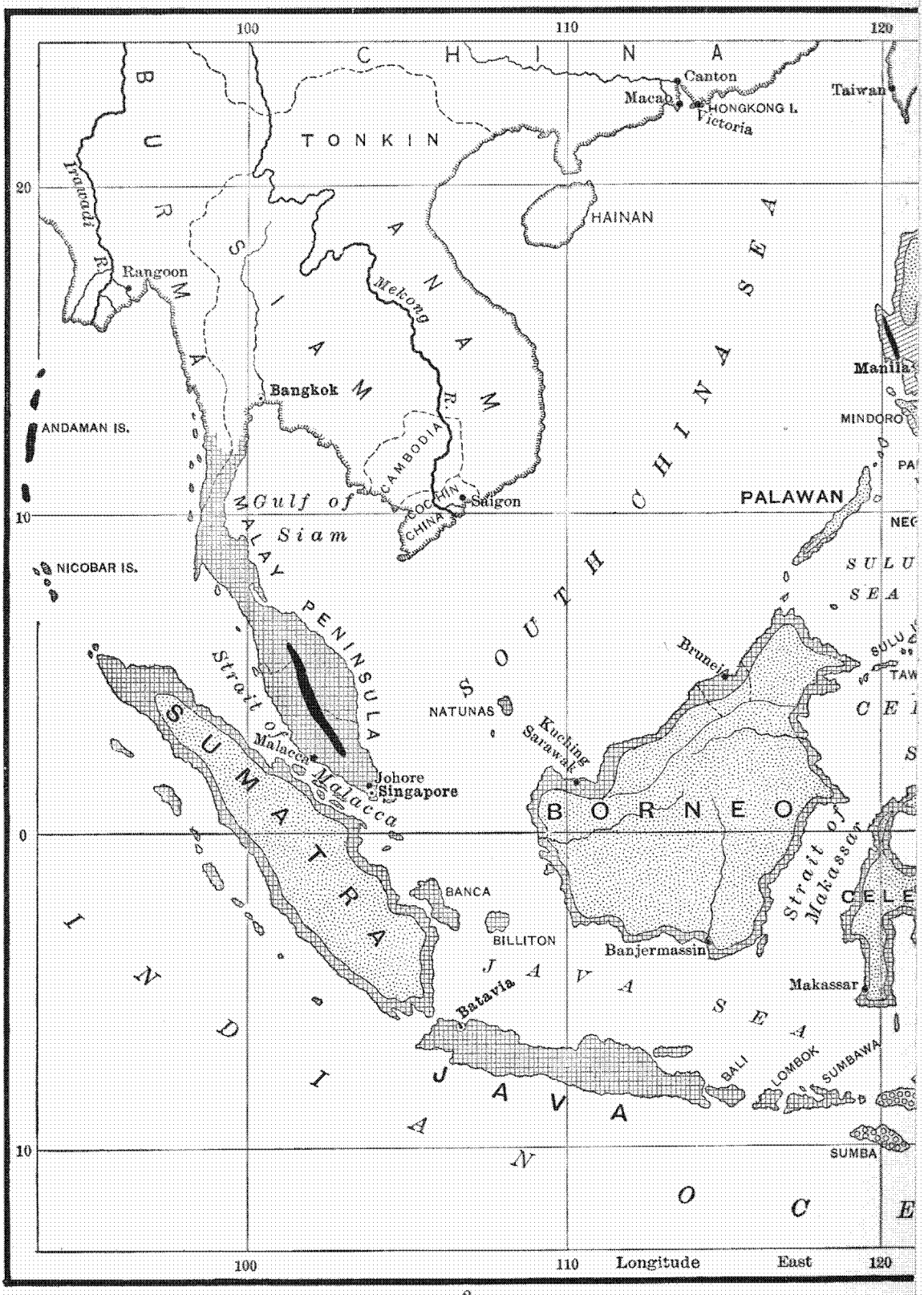
CHAPTER I.

THE PEOPLES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

The Study of Ethnology. — The study of races and peoples forms a separate science from history, and is known as *ethnology*, or the science of races. Ethnology treats of how and where the different races of mankind originated. It explains the relationships between the races as well as the differences of mind, of body, and of mode of living which different peoples exhibit.

All such knowledge is of great assistance to the statesman as he deals with the affairs of his own people and of other peoples, and it helps private individuals of different races to understand one another and to treat each other with due respect, kindness, and sympathy. Inasmuch, too, as the modern history which we are studying deals with many different peoples of different origin and race, and as much of our history turns upon these differences, we must look for a little at the ethnology of the Philippines.

The Negritos. — *Physical Characteristics.* — The great majority of the natives of our islands belong to what is usually called the Malayan race, or the Oceanic Mongols. There is, however, one interesting little race scattered over the Philippines, which certainly has no relationship at all with Malayans. These little people are called by the Tagálog, "Aeta" or "Ita." The Spaniards, when they arrived, called them "Negritos," or "little negroes," the name by which they are best known. Since they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MALAY PENINSULA
Strait of Malacca
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SOUTH CHINA SEA
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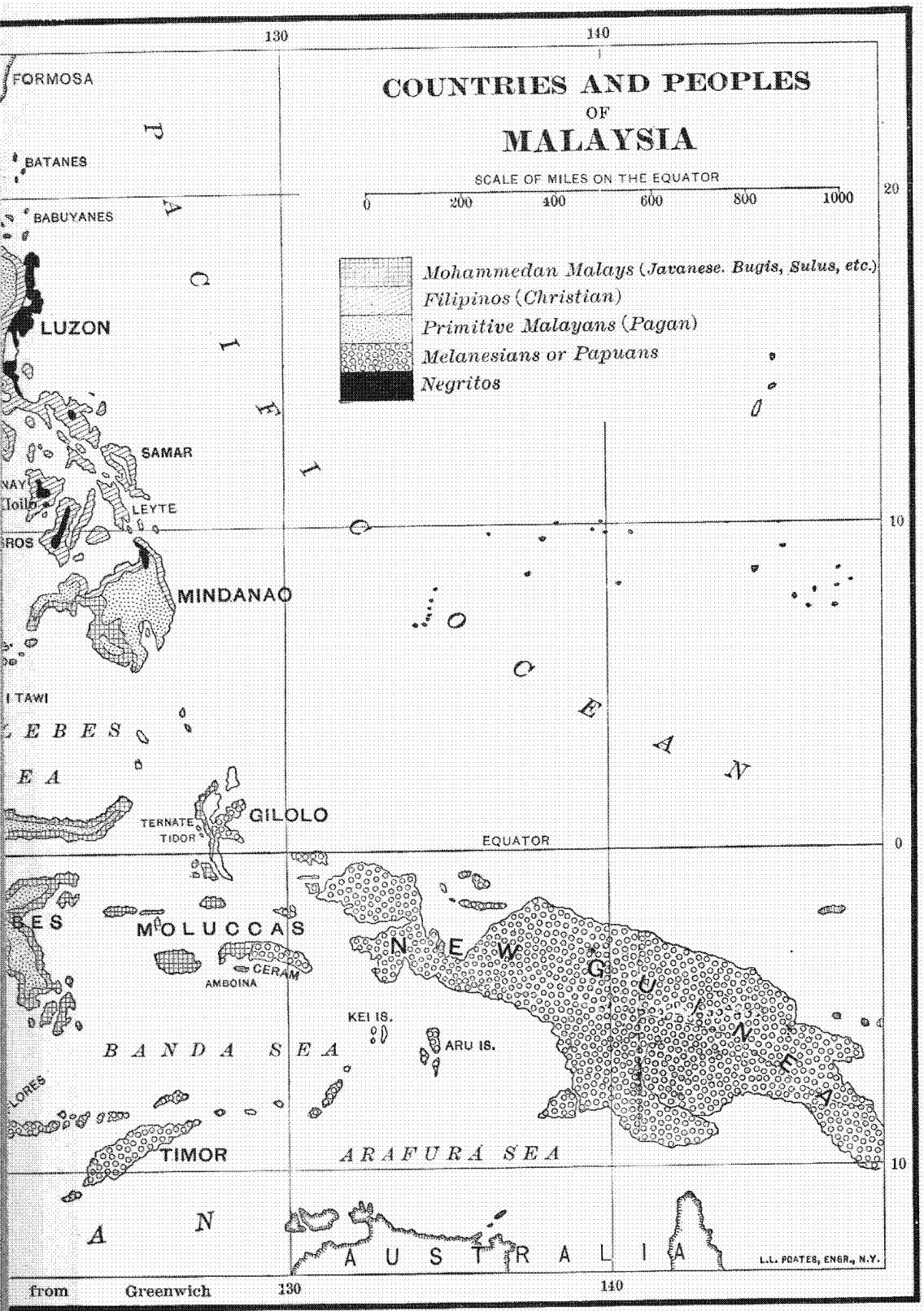
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OF
MALAYSIA
SCALE OF MILES ON THE EQUATOR
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Mohammedan Malays (Javanese. Bugis, Sulus, etc.)
Filipinos (Christian)
Primitive Malayans (Pagan)
Melanesians or Papuans
Negritos
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FORMOSA
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TERNATE
TIDOR
GILOLO
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L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.
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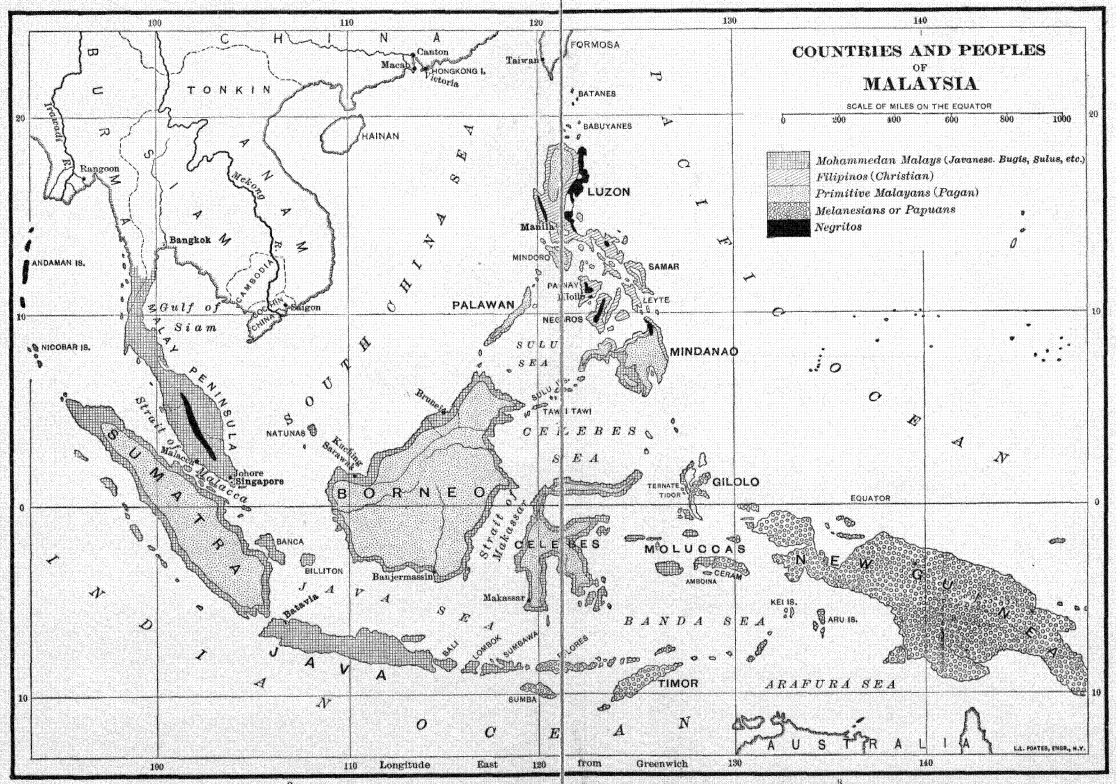
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES
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SCALE OF MILES ON THE EQUATOR
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Mohammedan Malays (Javanese, Bugis, Sulus, etc.)
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Saigon
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Gulf of Siam
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Strait of Malacca
Johore
Singapore
NATUNAS
SUMATRA
BANCA
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Batavia
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTH CHINA SEA
PALAWAN
Manila
LUZON
MINDORO
SAMAR
PANAY
Iloilo
LEYTE
NEGROS
MINDANAO
SULU SEA
SULU IS.
TAWI TAWI
Brunei
Kuching
Sarawak
BORNEO
Banjermassin
Strait of Makassar
CELEBES SEA
CELEBES
Makassar
BALI
LOMBOK
SUMBAWA
FLORES
SUMBA
TIMOR
TERNATE
TIDOR
GILOLO
EQUATOR
MOLUCCAS
CERAM
AMBOINA
KEI IS.
ARU IS.
BANDA SEA
ARAFURA SEA
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were without question the first inhabitants of these islands of whom we have any knowledge, we shall speak of them at once.

They are among the very smallest peoples in the world, the average height of the men being about 145 centimeters, or the height of an American boy of twelve years; the women are correspondingly smaller. They have such dark-brown skins that many people suppose them to be quite black; their hair is very woolly or kinky, and forms thick mats upon their heads. In spite of these peculiarities, they are not unattractive in appearance. Their eyes are large and of a fine brown color, their features are quite regular, and their little bodies often beautifully shaped.

The appearance of these little savages excited the attention of the first Spaniards, and there are many early accounts of them. Padre Chirino, who went as a missionary in 1592 to Panay, begins the narrative of his labors in that island as follows: "Among the Bisayas, there are also some Negroes. They are less black and ugly than those of Guinea, and they are much smaller and weaker, but their hair and beard are just the same. They are much more barbarous and wild than the Bisayas and other Filipinos, for they have neither houses nor any fixed sites for dwelling. They neither plant nor reap, but live like wild beasts, wandering with their wives and children through the mountains, almost naked. They hunt the deer and wild boar, and when they kill one they stop right there until all the flesh is consumed. Of property they have nothing except the bow and arrow."[1]

Manners and Customs.—The Negritos still have this wild, timid character, and few have ever been truly civ-

[1] *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 2d ed., p. 38.

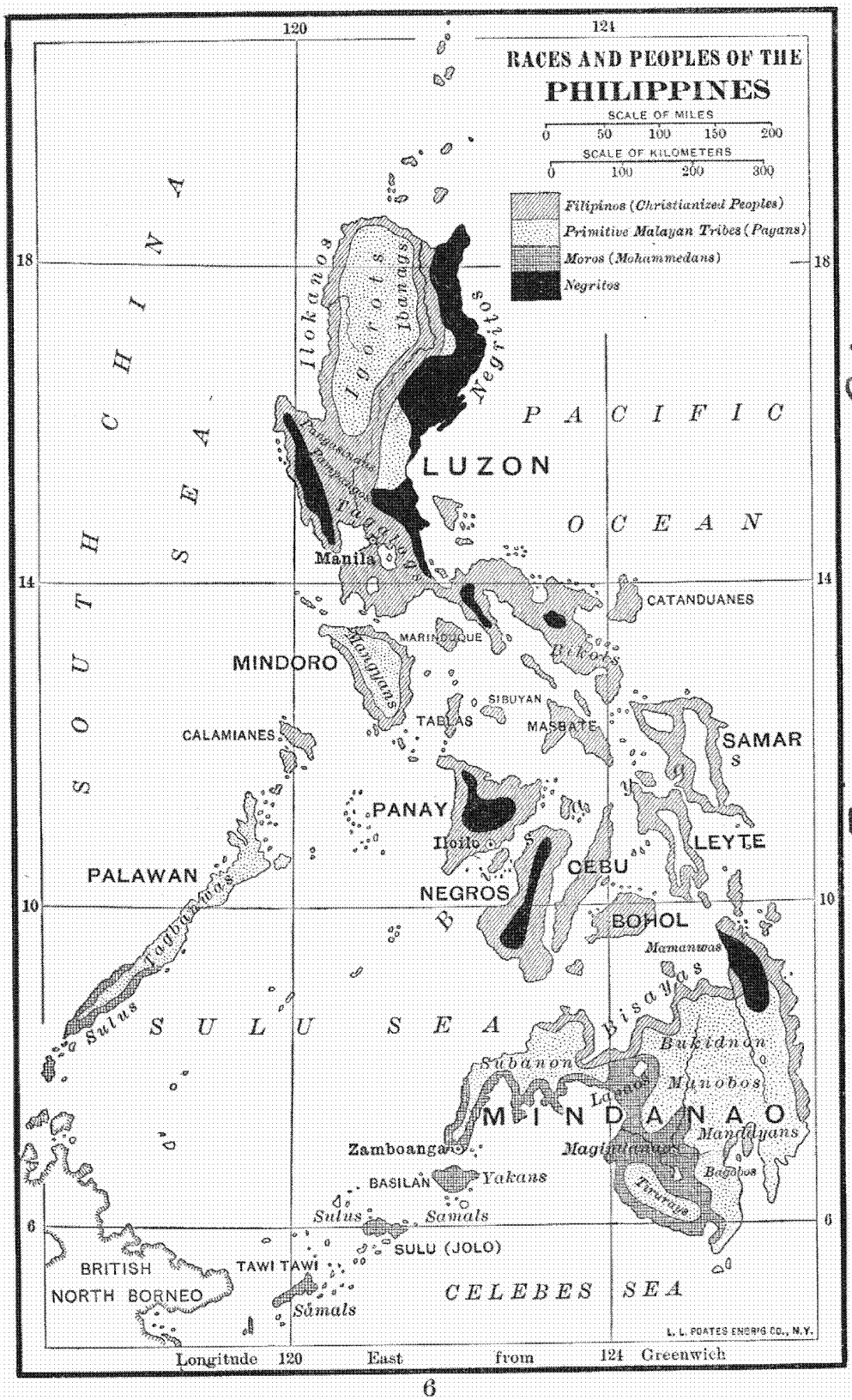
ilized in spite of the efforts of some of the Spanish missionaries. They still roam through the mountains, seldom building houses, but making simply a little wall and roof of brush to keep off the wind and rain. They kill deer, wild pigs, monkeys, and birds, and in hunting they are very expert; but their principal food is wild roots and tubers, which they roast in ashes. Frequently in traveling through the mountains, although one may see nothing of these timid little folk, he will see many large, freshly dug holes from each of which they have taken out a root.

The Negritos ornament their bodies by making little rows of cuts on the breast, back, and arms, and leaving the scars in ornamental patterns; and some of them also cut their front teeth to points. In their hair they wear bamboo combs with long plumes of hair or of the feathers of the mountain cock. They have curious dances, and ceremonies for marriage and for death.

Distribution. — The Negritos have retired from many places where they lived when the Spaniards first arrived, but there are still several thousand in Luzon, especially in the Cordillera Zambales, and in the Sierra Madre range on the Pacific coast, and in the interior of Panay and Negros, and in Surigao of Mindanao.

Relation of the Negritos to Other Dwarfs of the World. — Although the Negritos have had very little effect on the history of the Philippines, they are of much interest as a race to scientists, and we can not help asking, Whence came these curious little people, and what does their presence here signify? While science can not at present fully answer these questions, what we do actually know about these pygmies is full of interest.

The Aetas of the Philippines are not the only black dwarfs in the world. A similar little people, who must


RACES AND PEOPLES OF THE
PHILIPPINES
SCALE OF MILES
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SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 100 200 300
Filipinos (Christianized Peoples)
Primitive Malayan Tribes (Pagans)
Moros (Mohammedans)
Negritos
120
124
18
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SOUTH CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Ilokanos
Igorots
Ibanags
Negritos
Pampangos
Tagalos
LUZON
Manila
CATANDUANES
MARINDUQUE
Bicols
MINDORO
Mangyans
SIBUYAN
TABLAS
MASBATE
CALAMIANES
SAMAR
Visayas
PANAY
Iloilo
LEYTE
PALAWAN
Tagbanwas
NEGROS
CEBU
BOHOL
Mamanwas
Sulus
SULU SEA
Bisayas
Bukidnon
Subanon
Lanos
Manobos
MINDANAO
Mandayans
Zamboanga
Magindanaos
Bagobos
BASILAN
Yakans
Tiruray
Sulus
Samals
SULU (JOLO)
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO
TAWI TAWI
Samals
CELEBES SEA
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belong to the same race, live in the mountains and jungles of the Malay peninsula and are called "Semangs." On the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean, all the aboriginal inhabitants are similar pygmies. Some traces of their former existence are reported from many other places in the East Indies.

Thus it may be that there was a time when these little men and women had much of this island-world quite to themselves, and their race stretched unbrokenly from the Philippines across Malaysia to the Indian Ocean. As it would have been impossible for so feeble a people to force their way from one island to another after the arrival of the stronger races, who have now confined them to the mountainous interiors, we are obliged to believe that the Negritos were on the ground first, and that at one time they were more numerous. The Indian archipelago was then a world of black pygmies. It may be that they were even more extensive than this, for one of the most curious discoveries of modern times has been the finding of similar little blacks in the equatorial forests of Africa.

The Negritos must not be confused with the black or negro race of New Guinea or Melanesia, who are commonly called Papuans; for those Negroes are of taller stature and closer to the true Negroes of Africa, though how the Negro race thus came to be formed of several widely separated branches we do not know.

The Malayan Race. — *Origin of the Race.* — It is thought that the Malayan race originated in southeastern Asia. From the mainland it spread down into the peninsula and so scattered southward and eastward over the rich neighboring islands. Probably these early Malayans found the little Negritos in possession and slowly

drove them backward, destroying them from many islands until they no longer exist except in the places we have already named.

With the beginning of this migratory movement which carried them from one island to another of the great East Indian Archipelago, these early Malayans must have invented the boats or praus for which they are famed and have become skillful sailors living much upon the sea.

Effect of the Migration. — Life for many generations, upon these islands, so warm, tropical, and fruitful, gradually modified these emigrants from Asia, until they became in mind and body quite a different race from the Mongol inhabitants of the mainland.

Characteristics. — The Malayan peoples are of a light-brown color, with a light yellowish undertone on some parts of the skin, with straight black hair, dark-brown eyes, and, though they are a small race in stature, they are finely formed, muscular, and active. The physical type is nearly the same throughout all Malaysia, but the different peoples making up the race differ markedly from one another in culture. They are divided also by differences of religion. There are many tribes which are pagan. On Bali and Lombok, little islands east of Java, the people are still Hindus, like most inhabitants of India. In other parts of Malaysia they are Mohammedans, while in the Philippines alone they are mostly Christians.

The Wild Malayan Tribes. — Considering first the pagan or the wild Malayan peoples, we find that in the interior of the Malay Peninsula and of many of the islands, such as Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes, there are wild Malayan tribes, who have come very little in contact with the successive civilizing changes that have passed over this archipelago. The true Malays call these folk "Orang

benua," or "men of the country." Many are almost savages, some are cannibals, and others are headhunters like some of the Dyaks of Borneo.

In the Philippines, too, we find what is probably this same class of wild people living in the mountains. They are warlike, savage, and resist approach. Sometimes they eat human flesh as a ceremonial act, and some prize above all other trophies the heads of their enemies, which they cut from the body and preserve in their homes. It is probable that these tribes represent the earliest and rudest epoch of Malayan culture, and that these were the first of this race to arrive in the Philippines and dispute with the Negritos for the mastery of the soil. In such wild state of life, some of them, like the Mangyans of Mindoro, have continued to the present day.

The Tribes in Northern Luzon. — In northern Luzon, in the great Cordillera Central, there are many of these primitive tribes. These people are preëminently mountaineers. They prefer the high, cold, and semi-arid crests and valleys of the loftiest ranges. Here, with great industry, they have made gardens by the building of stone-walled terraces on the slopes of the hills. Sometimes hundreds of these terraces can be counted in one valley, and they rise one above the other from the bottom of a cañon for several miles almost to the summit of a ridge. These terraced gardens are all under most careful irrigation. Water is carried for many miles by log flumes and ditches, to be distributed over these little fields. The soil is carefully fertilized with the refuse of the villages. Two and frequently three crops are produced each year. Here we find undoubtedly the most developed and most nearly scientific agriculture in the Philippines. They raise rice, cotton, tobacco, the taro, maize, and especially the camote, or

sweet potato, which is their principal food. These people live in compact, well-built villages, frequently of several hundred houses. Some of these tribes, like the Igorots of Benguet and the Tingians of Abra, are peaceable as well as industrious. In Benguet there are fine herds of cattle, much excellent coffee, and from time immemorial the Igorots here have mined gold.

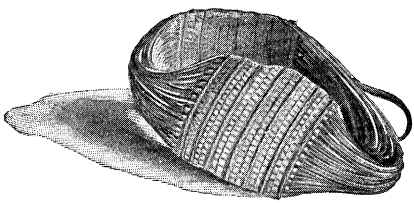
Besides these peaceful tribes there are in Bontok, and in the northern parts of the Cordillera, many large tribes, with splendid mountain villages, who until recently were in a constant state of war. Nearly every town was in feud with its neighbors, and the practice of taking heads led to frequent murder and combat. A most curious tribe of persistent headhunters are the Ibilao, or Ilungots, who live in the Caraballo Sur Mountains between Nueva Ecija and Nueva Vizcaya.

On other islands of the Philippines there are similar wild tribes. On the island of Palawan there are the Tagbanwas and other savage folk.

Characteristics of the Tribes of Mindanao. — In Mindanao, there are many more tribes. Three of these tribes, the Bagobo, Mandaya, and Manobo, are on the eastern coast and around Mount Apo. In Western Mindanao, there is quite a large but scattered tribe called the Subanon. These people make clearings on the hillsides and support themselves by raising maize and mountain rice. They also raise hemp, and from the fiber they weave truly beautiful blankets and garments, artistically dyed in very curious patterns. These peoples are nearly all pagans, though a few are being gradually converted to Mohammedanism, and some to Christianity. The pagans occasionally practice the revolting rites of human sacrifice and ceremonial cannibalism.

The Civilized Malayan Peoples. — *Their Later Arrival.* — At a later date than the arrival of these primitive Malayan tribes, there came to the Philippines others of a more developed culture and a higher order of attainment. These peoples mastered the low country and the coasts of nearly all the islands, driving into the interior the earlier comers and the aboriginal Negritos. These later arrivals, though all of one stock, differed considerably, and spoke different dialects belonging to one language family. They were the ancestors of the present civilized Filipino people.

Distribution of These Peoples. — All through the central islands, Cebu, Panay, Negros, Leyte, Samar, Bohol and northern Mindanao, are the Bisayas, the largest of these peoples. At the southern extremity of Luzon, in the provinces of Sorsogon and the Camarines, are the Bikols.

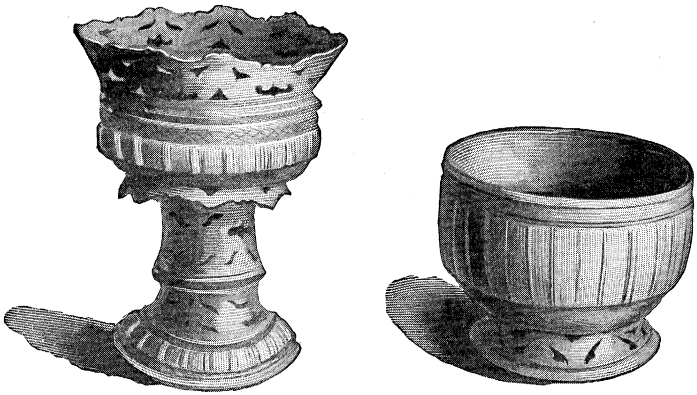


Belt of Rattan.

North of these, holding central Luzon, Batangas, Cavite, Manila, Laguna, Bataan, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija, are the Tagálogs, while the great plain of northern Luzon is occupied by the Pampangos and Pangasinans. All the northwest coast is inhabited by the Ilokanos, and the valley of the Cagayan by a people commonly called Cagayanes, but whose dialect is Ibanag. In Nueva Vizcaya province, on the Batanes Islands and the Calamianes, there are other distinct branches of the Filipino people, but they are much smaller in numbers and less important than the tribes mentioned above.

Importance of These Peoples. — They form politically and historically the Filipino people. They are the Filipinos whom the Spaniards ruled for more than three hundred years. All are converts to Christianity, and all have attained a somewhat similar stage of civilization.

Early Contact of the Malays and Hindus. — These people at the time of their arrival in the Philippines were probably not only of a higher plane of intelligence than any



Mindanao Brass Vessels.

who had preceded them in the occupation of the islands, but they appear to have had the advantages of contact with a highly developed culture that had appeared in the eastern archipelago some centuries earlier.

Early Civilization in India. — More than two thousand years ago, India produced a remarkable civilization. There were great cities of stone, magnificent palaces, a life of splendid luxury, and a highly organized social and political system. Writing, known as the Sanskrit, had been developed, and a great literature of poetry

and philosophy produced. Two great religions, Brahminism and Buddhism, arose, the latter still the dominant religion of Tibet, China, and Japan. The people who produced this civilization are known as the Hindus. Fourteen or fifteen hundred years ago Hinduism spread over Burma, Siam, and Java. Great cities were erected with splendid temples and huge idols, the ruins of which still remain, though their magnificence has gone and they are covered to-day with the growth of the jungle.

Influence of Hindu Culture on the Malayan Peoples. — This powerful civilization of the Hindus, established thus in Malaysia, greatly affected the Malayan people on these islands, as well as those who came to the Philippines. Many words in the Tagálog have been shown to have a Sanskrit origin, and the systems of writing which the Spaniards found in use among several of the Filipino peoples had certainly been developed from the alphabets then in use among these Hindu peoples of Java and elsewhere.

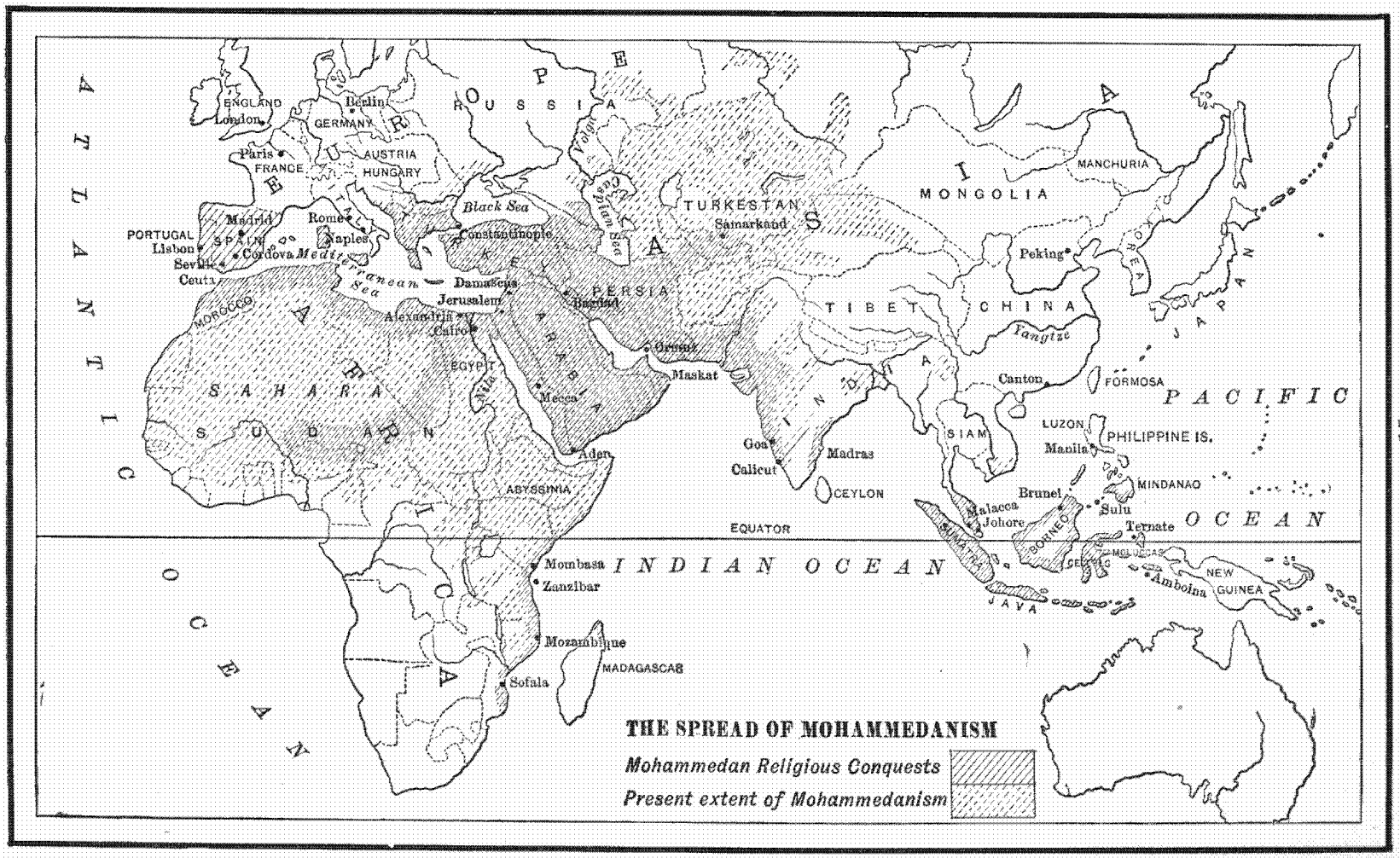
The Rise of Mohammedanism. — *Mohammed.* — A few hundred years later another great change, due to religious faith, came over the Malayan race, — a change which has had a great effect upon the history of the Philippines, and is still destined to modify events far into the future. This was the conversion to Mohammedanism. Of all the great religions of the world, Mohammedanism was the last to arise, and its career has in some ways been the most remarkable. Mohammed, its founder, was an Arab, born about 572 A.D. At that time Christianity was established entirely around the Mediterranean and throughout most of Europe, but Arabia was idolatrous. Mohammed was one of those great, prophetic souls which arise from time to time in the world's history. All he could learn from

Hebraism and Christianity, together with the result of his own thought and prayers, led him to the belief in one God, the Almighty, the Compassionate, the Merciful, who as he believed would win all men to His knowledge through the teachings of Mohammed himself. Thus inspired, Mohammed became a teacher or prophet, and by the end of his life he had won his people to his faith and inaugurated one of the greatest eras of conquest the world has seen.

Spread of Mohammedanism to Africa and Europe. — The armies of Arabian horsemen, full of fanatical enthusiasm to convert the world to their faith, in a century's time wrested from Christendom all Judea, Syria, and Asia Minor, the sacred land where Jesus lived and taught, and the countries where Paul and the other apostles had first established Christianity. Thence they swept along the north coast of Africa, bringing to an end all that survived of Roman power and religion, and by 720 they had crossed into Europe and were in possession of Spain. For the nearly eight hundred years that followed, the Christian Spaniards fought to drive Mohammedanism from the peninsula, before they were successful.

The Conversion of the Malayans to Mohammedanism. — Not only did Mohammedanism move westward over Africa and Europe, it was carried eastward as well. Animated by their faith, the Arabs became the greatest sailors, explorers, merchants, and geographers of the age. They sailed from the Red Sea down the coast of Africa as far as Madagascar, and eastward to India, where they had settlements on both the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. Thence Arab missionaries brought their faith to Malaysia.

At that time the true Malays, the tribe from which the common term "Malayan" has been derived, were a


ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ENGLAND
London
Berlin
GERMANY
RUSSIA
Paris
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ITALY
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Seville
Cordova
Ceuta
MOROCCO
Rome
Naples
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Constantinople
Volga
Caspian Sea
TURKESTAN
Samarkand
ASIA
MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Peking
KOREA
JAPAN
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
Nile
PERSIA
Baghdad
Ormuz
Maskat
Mecca
ARABIA
SAHARA
SUDAN
Aden
ABYSSINIA
AFRICA
TIBET
CHINA
Yangtze
INDIA
Canton
FORMOSA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SIAM
LUZON
PHILIPPINE IS.
Manila
MINDANAO
Goa
Calicut
Madras
CEYLON
Brunei
Malacca
Johore
Sulu
Ternate
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
Ambolna
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
EQUATOR
INDIAN OCEAN
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
Sofala
THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM
Mohammedan Religious Conquests
Present extent of Mohammedanism

small people of Sumatra. At least as early as 1250 they were converted to Mohammedanism, brought to them by these Arabian missionaries, and under the impulse of this mighty faith they broke from their obscurity and commenced that great conquest and expansion that has diffused their power, language, and religion throughout the East Indies.

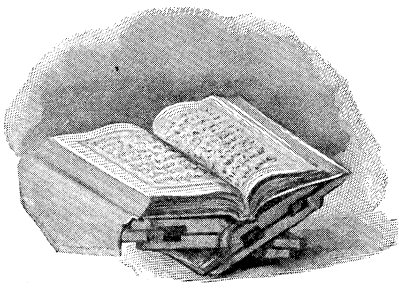
Mohammedan Settlement in Borneo. — A powerful Mohammedan Malay settlement was established on the western coasts of Borneo probably as early as 1400. The more primitive inhabitants, like the Dyaks, who were a tribe of the primitive Malayans, were defeated, and the possession of parts of the coast taken from them. From this coast of Borneo came many of the adventurers who were traversing the seas of the Philippines when the Spaniards arrived.

The Mohammedan Population of Mindanao and Jolo owes something certainly to this same Malay migration which founded the colony of Borneo. But the Magindanao and Illanon Moros seem to be largely descendants of primitive tribes, such as the Manobo and Tiruray, who were converted to Mohammedanism by Malay and Arab proselyters. The traditions of the Magindanao Moros ascribe their conversion to Kabunsuan, a native of Johore, the son of an Arab father and Malay mother. He came to Magindanao with a band of followers, and from him the datos of Magindanao trace their lineage. Kabunsuan, through his Arab father, is supposed to be descended from Mohammed, and so the datos of Magindanao to the present day proudly believe that in their veins flows the blood of the Prophet.

The Coming of the Spaniards. — Mohammedanism was still increasing in the Philippines when the Spaniards ar-

rived. The Mohammedans already had a foothold on Manila Bay, and their gradual conquest of the archipelago was interrupted only by the coming of the Europeans. It is a strange historical occurrence that the Spaniards, having fought with the Mohammedans for nearly eight centuries for the possession of Spain, should have come westward around the globe to the Philippine Islands and there resumed the ancient conflict with them. Thus the Spaniards were the most determined opponents of Mohammedanism on both its western and eastern frontiers. Their ancient foes who crossed into Spain from Morocco had been always known as "Moros" or "Moors," and quite naturally they gave to these new Mohammedan enemies the same title, and Moros they are called to the present day.

Summary. — Such, then, are the elements which form the population of these islands, — a few thousands of the little Negritos; many wild mountain tribes of the primitive Malayans; a later immigration of Malayans of higher cultivation and possibilities than any that preceded them, who had been influenced by the Hinduism of Java and who have had in recent centuries an astonishing growth both in numbers and in culture; and last, the fierce Mohammedan sea-rovers, the true Malays.



Copy of the Koran from Mindanao.

CHAPTER II.

EUROPE AND THE FAR EAST ABOUT 1400 A.D.

The Mediæval Period in Europe. — *Length of the Middle Age.* — By the Middle Ages we mean the centuries between 500 and 1300 A.D. This period begins with the fall of the Roman Empire and the looting of the Imperial City by the rude German tribes, and ends with the rise of a new literature, a new way of looking at the world in general, and a passion for discovery of every kind.

These eight hundred years had been centuries of cruel struggle, intellectual darkness, and social depression, but also of great religious devotion. Edward Gibbon, one of the greatest historians, speaks of this period as "the triumph of barbarism and religion."

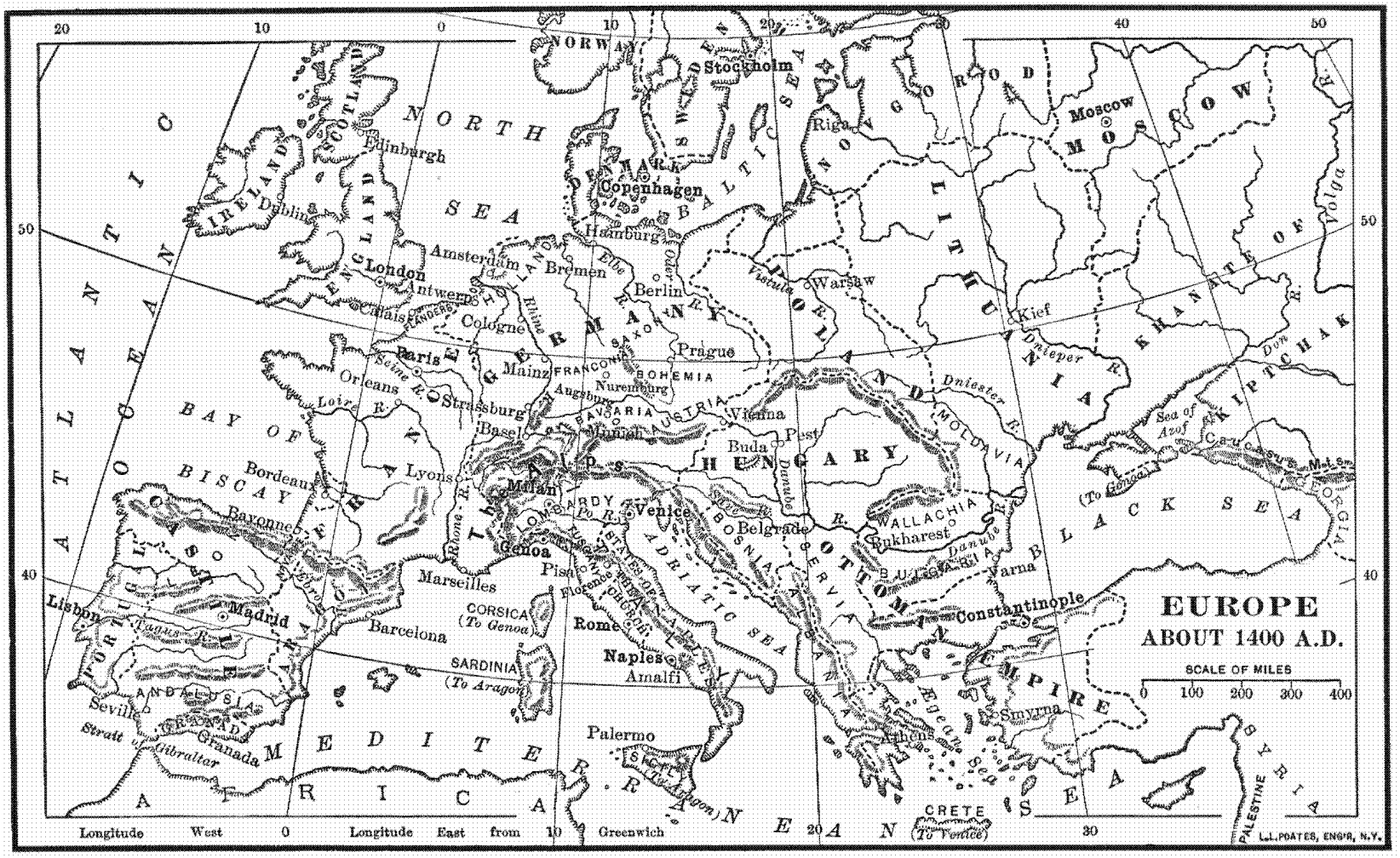
The population of Europe was largely changed, during the first few centuries of the Christian Era, as the Roman Empire, that greatest political institution of all history, slowly decayed. New peoples of German or Teutonic origin came, fighting their way into western Europe and settling wherever the land attracted them. Thus Spain and Italy received the Goths; France, the Burgundians and Franks; England, the Saxons and Angles or English.

These peoples were all fierce, warlike, free, unlettered barbarians. Fortunately, they were all converted to Christianity by Roman priests and missionaries. They embraced this faith with ardor, at the same time that other peoples and lands were being lost to Christendom. Thus it has resulted that the countries where Christianity

arose and first established itself, are now no longer Christian, and this religion, which had an Asiatic and Semitic origin, has become the distinguishing faith of the people of western Europe. For centuries the countries of Europe were fiercely raided and disturbed by pillaging and murdering hordes; by the Huns, who followed in the Germans from the East; by the Northmen, cruel pirating seamen from Scandinavia; and, as we have already seen, by the Mohammedans, or Saracens as they were called, who came into central Europe by way of Spain.

Character of the Life during this Period.—*Feudalism.*—Life was so beset with peril that independence or freedom became impossible, and there was developed a society which has lasted almost down to the present time, and which we call Feudalism. The free but weak man gave up his freedom and his lands to some stronger man, who became his lord. He swore obedience to this lord, while the lord engaged to furnish him protection and gave him back his lands to hold as a "fief," both sharing in the product. This lord swore allegiance to some still more powerful man, or "overlord," and became his "vassal," pledged to follow him to war with a certain number of armed men; and this overlord, on his part, owed allegiance to the prince, who was, perhaps, a duke or bishop (bishops at this time were also feudal lords), or to the king or emperor. Thus were men united into large groups or nations for help or protection. There was little understanding of love of country. Patriotism, as we feel it, was replaced by the passion of fidelity or allegiance to one's feudal superior.

Disadvantages of Feudalism.—The great curse of this system was that the feudal lords possessed the power to make war upon one another, and so continuous were


EUROPE
ABOUT 1400 A.D.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
NORTH SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Aegean Sea
Sea of Azof
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Riga
Moscow
MOSCOW
NOVGOROD
LITHUANIA
KHANATE OF KIPTCHAK
Volga
Don
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Kief
Warsaw
POLAND
Vistula R.
Elbe
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
GERMANY
SAXONY
Prague
BOHEMIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Buda
Pest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
Bukharest
Danube
Varna
BULGARIA
Belgrade
SERVIA
BOSNIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Smyrna
Athens
ALBANIA
Caucasus Mts.
GEORGIA
(To Genoa)
Edinburgh
SCOTLAND
Dublin
IRELAND
London
ENGLAND
Amsterdam
Antwerp
FLANDERS
Calais
Cologne
Rhine
Paris
Seine R.
Orleans
Loire R.
Mainz
FRANCONIA
Nuremberg
Augsburg
BAVARIA
Strassburg
Basel
Munich
Lyons
Rhone R.
ALPS
Milan
LOMBARDY
Po R.
Venice
Genoa
Pisa
TUSCANY
Florence
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Rome
Naples
Amalfi
Marseilles
CORSICA
(To Genoa)
SARDINIA
(To Aragon)
Palermo
SICILY
(To Aragon)
CRETE
(To Venice)
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Ebro R.
Barcelona
Madrid
Tagus R.
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
ANDALUSIA
Seville
GRANADA
Granada
Strait of Gibraltar
AFRICA
PALESTINE
SYRIA
L.L.POATES, ENG'R, N.Y.

their jealousies and quarrelings that the land was never free from armed bands, who laid waste an opponent's country, killing the miserable serfs who tilled the soil, and destroying their homes and cattle.

There was little joy in life and no popular learning. If a man did not enjoy warfare, but one other life was open to him, and that was in the Church. War and religion were the pursuits of life, and it is no wonder that many of the noblest and best turned their backs upon a life that promised only fighting and bloodshed and, renouncing the world, became monks. Monasticism developed in Europe under such conditions as these, and so strong were the religious feelings of the age that at one time a third of the land of France was owned by the religious orders.

The Town. — The two typical institutions of the early Middle Age were the feudal castle, with its high stone walls and gloomy towers, with its fierce bands of warriors armed in mail and fighting on horseback with lance and sword, and the monastery, which represented inn, hospital, and school. Gradually, however, a third factor appeared. This was the town. And it is to these mediæval cities, with their busy trading life, their free citizenship, and their useful occupations, that the modern world owes much of its liberty and its intellectual light.

The Renaissance. — *Changes in Political Affairs.* — By 1400, however, the Middle Age had nearly passed and a new life had appeared, a new epoch was in progress, which is called the Renaissance, which means "rebirth." In political affairs the spirit of nationality had arisen, and feudalism was already declining. Men began to feel attachment to country, to king, and to fellow-citizens; and the national states, as we now know them, each with its

naturally bounded territory, its common language, and its approximately common race, were appearing.

France and *England* were, of these states, the two most advanced politically just previous to the fifteenth century. At this distant time they were still engaged in a struggle which lasted quite a century and is known as the Hundred Years' War. In the end, England was forced to give up all her claims to territory on the continent, and the power of France was correspondingly increased. In France the monarchy (king and court) was becoming the supreme power in the land. The feudal nobles lost what power they had, while the common people gained nothing. In England, however, the foundations for a representative government had been laid. The powers of legislation and government were divided between the English king and a Parliament. The Parliament was first called in 1265 and consisted of two parts, — the Lords, representing the nobility; and the Commons, composed of persons chosen by the common people.

Germany was divided into a number of small principalities, — Saxony, Bavaria, Franconia, Bohemia, Austria, the Rhine principalities, and many others, — which united in a great assembly, or Diet, the head of which was some prince, chosen to be emperor.

Italy was also divided. In the north, in the valley of the Po, or Lombardy, were the duchy of Milan and the Republic of Venice; south, on the western coast, were the Tuscan states, including the splendid city of Florence. Thence, stretching north and south across the peninsula, were states of the church, whose ruler was the pope, for until less than sixty years ago the pope was not only the head of the church but also a temporal ruler. Embracing the southern part of the peninsula was the principality of Naples.

In the Spanish peninsula Christian states had arisen, — in the west, Portugal, in the center and east, Castile, Aragon, and Leon, from all of which the Mohammedans had been expelled. But the Moors still held the southern parts of Spain, including the beautiful plains of Andalusia and Grenada.

The Mohammedans, in the centuries of their life in Spain, had developed an elegant and prosperous civilization. By means of irrigation and skillful planting, they had converted southern Spain into a garden. They were the most skillful agriculturists and breeders of horses and sheep in Europe, and they carried to perfection many fine arts, while knowledge and learning were nowhere further advanced than here. Through contact with this remarkable people the Christian Spaniards gained much. Unfortunately, however, the spirit of religious intolerance was so strong, and the hatred engendered by the centuries of religious war was so violent, that in the end the Spaniard became imbued with so fierce a fanaticism that he thereafter appeared unable properly to appreciate or justly to treat those who differed from him in religious belief.

The Conquests of the Mohammedans. — In the fifteenth century, religious toleration was but little known in the world, and the people of the great Mohammedan faith still threatened to overwhelm Christian Europe. Since the first great conquests of Islam in the eighth century had been repulsed from central Europe, that faith had shown a wonderful power of winning its way. In the tenth century Asia Minor was invaded by hordes of Seljuks, or Turks, who poured down from central Asia in conquering bands. These tribes had overthrown the Arab's power in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor only to become converts to his faith. With freshened zeal they

hurled themselves upon the old Christian empire, which at Constantinople had survived the fall of the rest of the Roman world.

The Crusades. — The Seljuk Turks had conquered most of Asia Minor, Syria, and the Holy Land. A great fear came over the people of Europe that the city of Constantinople would be captured and they, too, be overwhelmed by these new Mohammedan enemies. The passionate religious zeal of the Middle Age also roused the princes and knights of Europe to try to wrest from the infidel the Holy Land of Palestine, where were the birthplace of Christianity and the site of the Sepulcher of Christ. Palestine was recovered and Christian states were established there, which lasted for over a hundred and eighty years. Then the Arab power revived and, operating from Egypt, finally retook Jerusalem and expelled the Christian from the Holy Land, to which he never returned as a conqueror until the World War.

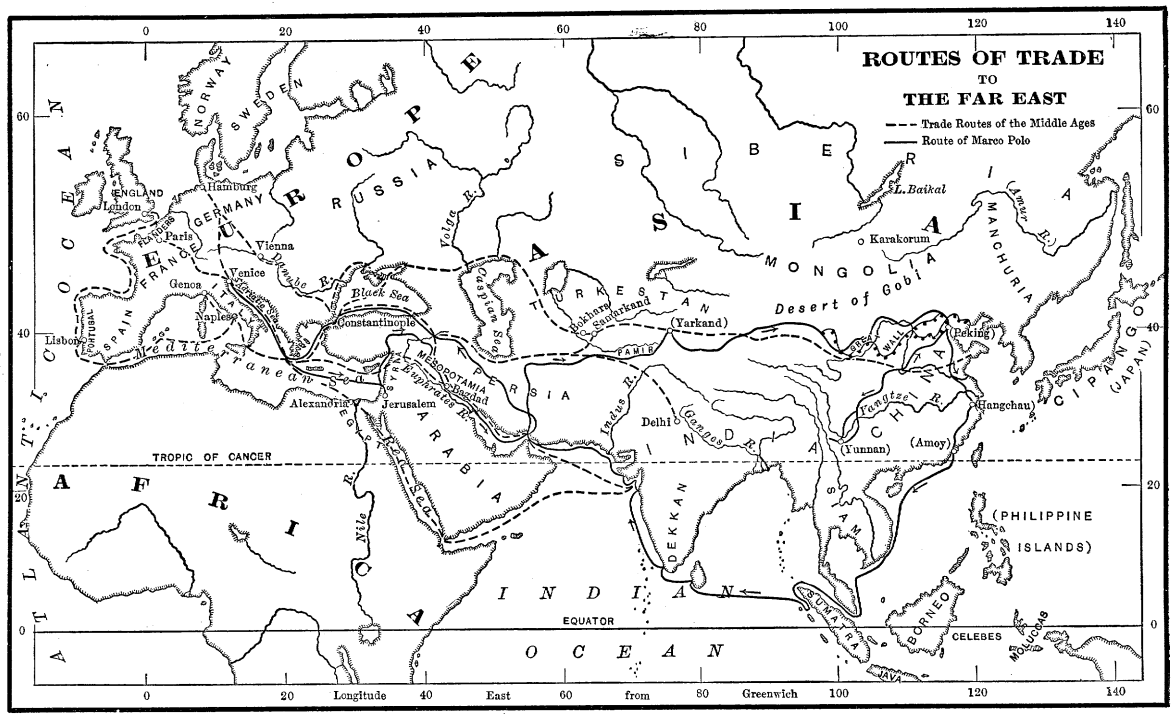
Effects of the Crusades. — These long, holy wars, or "Crusades," had a profound effect upon Europe. The rude Christian warrior from the west was astonished and delighted with the splendid and luxurious life which he met at Constantinople and the Arabian East. Even though he was a prince, his life at home was barren of comforts and beauty. Glass, linen, rugs, tapestries, silk, cotton, spices, and sugar were some of the things which the Franks and the Englishmen took home with them from the Holy Land. Demand for these treasures of the East became irresistible, and trade between western Europe and the East grew rapidly.

The Commercial Cities of Italy. — The cities of Italy developed this commerce. They placed fleets upon the Mediterranean. They carried the crusaders out and brought

back the wares that Europe desired. In this way these cities grew and became very wealthy. On the west coast, where this trade began, were Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Florence, and on the east, at the head of the Adriatic, was Venice. The rivalry between these cities of Italy was very fierce. They fought and plundered one another, each striving to win a monopoly for itself of this invaluable trade.

Venice, finally, was victorious. Her location was very favorable. From her docks the wares could be carried easily and by the shortest routes up the Po River and thence into France or northward over the Alps to the Danube. In Bavaria grew up in this trade the splendid German cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, which passed these goods on to the cities of the Rhine, and so down this most beautiful river to the coast. Here the towns of Flanders and of the Low Countries, or Holland, received them and passed them on again to England and eastward to the countries of the Baltic.

Development of Modern Language. — Thus commerce and trade grew up in Europe, and, with trade and city life, greater intelligence, learning, and independence. Education became more common, and the universities of Europe were thronged. Latin in the Middle Age had been the only language that was written by the learned class. Now the modern languages of Europe took their form and began to be used for literary purposes. Italian was the first to be so used by the great Dante, and in the same half-century the English poet Chaucer sang in the homely English tongue, and soon in France, Germany, and Spain national literatures appeared. With this went greater freedom of expression. Authority began to have less weight. Men began to inquire into causes and effects, to doubt


ROUTES OF TRADE
TO
THE FAR EAST
Trade Routes of the Middle Ages
Route of Marco Polo
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
SWEDEN
EUROPE
RUSSIA
ENGLAND
London
Hamburg
GERMANY
Paris
FRANCE
Vienna
Venice
Genoa
Naples
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Constantinople
Volga R.
Caspian Sea
ASIA
SIBERIA
L. Baikal
Karakorum
MONGOLIA
Desert of Gobi
MANCHURIA
Amur R.
TURKESTAN
Bokhara
Samarkand
(Yarkand)
PAMIR
(Peking)
CHINA
Hangchau
Yangtze R.
(Amoy)
(Yunnan)
(JAPAN)
(PHILIPPINE ISLANDS)
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Nile R.
Red Sea
ARABIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Baghdad
PERSIA
Indus R.
Delhi
(Ganges) R.
INDIA
DEKKAN
ASSAM
SUMATRA
BORNEO
CELEBES
JAVA
Moluccas
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
Longitude East from Greenwich

certain things, to seek themselves for the truth, and so the Renaissance came. With it came a greater love for the beautiful, a greater joy in life, a fresh zest for the good of this world, a new passion for discovery, a thirst for adventure, and, it must also be confessed a new laxity of living and a new greed for gold. Christian Europe was about to burst its narrow bounds. It could not be repressed nor confined to its old limitations. It could never turn backward. Of all the great changes which have come over life and thought, probably none are greater than those which saw the transition from the mediæval to the modern world.

Trade with the East. — *Articles of Trade.* — Now we must go back for a moment and pursue an old inquiry further. Whence came all these beautiful and inviting wares that had produced new tastes and passions in Europe? The Italian traders drew them from the Levant, but the Levant had not produced them. Neither pepper, spices, sugarcane, costly gems, nor rich silks, were produced on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Only the rich tropical countries of the East were capable of growing these rare plants, and up to that time of delivering to the delver many precious stones. India, the rich Malaysian archipelago, the kingdom of China, — these are the lands and islands which from time immemorial have given up their treasures to be forwarded far and wide to amaze and delight the native of colder and less productive lands.

Routes of Trade to the Far East. — Three old sailing and caravan routes connect the Mediterranean with the Far East. They are so old that we can not guess when men first used them. They were old in the days of Solomon and indeed very ancient when Alexander the

Great conquered the East. One of these routes passed through the Black Sea, and around the Caspian Sea, to Turkestan to those strange and romantic ancient cities, Bokhara and Samarkand. Thence it ran easterly across Asia, entering China from the north. Another crossed Syria and went down through Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean. A third began in Egypt and went through the Red Sea, passing along the coast of Arabia to India.

All of these had been in use for centuries, but by the year 1400 two had been closed. A fresh immigration of Turks, the Ottomans, in the fourteenth century came down upon the scourged country of the Euphrates and Syria, and although these Turks also embraced Mohammedanism, their hostility closed the first two routes and commerce over them has never been fully resumed.

Venetian Monopoly of Trade. — Thus all interest centered upon the southern route. By treaty with the sultan or ruler of Egypt, Venice secured a monopoly of the products which came over this route. Goods from the East now came in fleets up the Red Sea, went through the hands of the sultan of Egypt, who collected a duty for them, and then were passed on to the ships of the wealthy Venetian merchant princes, who carried them throughout Europe. Although the object of intense jealousy, it seemed impossible to wrest this monopoly from Venice. Her fleet was the strongest on the Mediterranean, and her rule extended along the Adriatic to the Grecian islands. All eager minds were bent upon the trade with the East, but no way was known, save that which now Venice had gained.

Extent of Geographical Knowledge. — *The Maps of this Period.* — To realize how the problem looked to the sailor of Genoa or the merchant of Flanders at that time,

we must understand how scanty and erroneous was the geographical knowledge of even the fifteenth century. It was believed that Jerusalem was the center of the world, a belief founded upon a biblical passage. The maps of this and earlier dates represent the earth in this way: In the center, Palestine, and beneath it the Mediterranean Sea, the only body of water which was well known; on the left side is Europe; on the right, Africa; and at the top, Asia — the last two continents very indefinitely mapped. Around the whole was supposed to flow an ocean, beyond the first few miles of which it was perilous to proceed lest the ship be carried over the edge of the earth or encounter other perils.

Ideas about the Earth. — The Greek philosophers before the time of Christ had discovered that the world is a globe, or ball, and had even computed rudely its circumference. But in the Middle Ages this knowledge had been disputed and contradicted by a geographer named Cosmas, who held that the world was a vast plane, twice as long as it was broad and surrounded by an ocean. This belief was generally adopted by churchmen, who were the only scholars of the Middle Ages, and came to be the universal belief of Christian Europe.

The Renaissance revived the knowledge of the writings of the old Greek geographers who had demonstrated the earth's shape to be round and had roughly calculated its size; but these writings did not have sufficient circulation in Europe to gain much acceptance among the Christian cosmographers. The Arabs, however, after conquering Egypt, Syria and northern Africa, translated into their own tongue the wisdom of the Greeks and became the best informed and most scientific geographers of the Middle Age, so that intercourse with the Arabs which

began with the Crusades helped to acquaint Europe somewhat with India and China.

The Far East. — *The Tartar Mongols.* — Then in the thirteenth century all northern Asia and China fell under the power of the Tartar Mongols. Russia was overrun by them and western Europe threatened. At the Danube, however, this tide of Asiatic conquest stopped, and then followed a long period when Europe came into diplomatic and commercial relations with these Mongols and through them learned something of China.

Marco Polo Visits the Great Khan. — Several Europeans visited the court of the Great Khan, or Mongol king, and of one of them, Marco Polo, we must speak in particular. He was a Venetian, and when a young man started in 1271 with his father and uncle on a visit to the Great Khan. They passed from Italy to Syria, across to Bagdad, and down to Ormuz, whence they journeyed northward through upper Persia and thence across the Pamirs along the caravan route to Kaipingfu, where the Khan had his court. Here in the service of this prince Marco Polo spent over seventeen years. So valuable indeed were his services that the Khan would not permit him to return. Year after year he remained in the East. He traversed most of China, and was for a time "taotai," or magistrate, of the city of Yang Chan near the Yangtze River. He saw the amazing wonders of the East. He heard of "Zipangu," or Japan. He probably heard of the Philippines.

Finally the opportunity came for the three Venetians to return. The Great Khan had a relative who was a ruler of Persia, and ambassadors came from this ruler to secure a Mongol princess for him to marry. The dangers and hardships of the travel overland were considered too

difficult for the delicate princess, and it was decided to send her by water. Marco Polo and his father and uncle were commissioned to accompany the expedition to Persia.

History of Marco Polo's Travels. — They sailed from the port of Chin Cheu, probably near Amoy,[1] in the year 1292. They skirted the coasts of Cambodia and Siam and reached the eastern coasts of Sumatra, where they waited five months for the changing of the monsoon. Of the Malay people of Sumatra, as well as of these islands, their animals and productions, Marco Polo has left us most interesting and quite accurate accounts. The Malays on Sumatra were beginning to be converted to Mohammedanism, for Marco Polo says that many of them were "Saracens." He gained a good knowledge of the rich and mysterious Indian Isles, where the spices and flavorings grew. It was two years before the party, having crossed the Indian Ocean, reached Persia and the court of the Persian king. When they arrived they found that while they were making this long voyage the Persian king had died; but they married the Mongol princess to his son, the young prince, who had succeeded him, and that did just as well.

From Persia the Venetians crossed to the Black Sea, sailed for Italy, and at last reached home after an absence of twenty-four years. But Marco Polo's adventures did not end with his return to Venice. In a fierce sea fight between the Venetians and Genoese, he was made

[1] See Yule's *Marco Polo* for a discussion of this point and for the entire history of this great explorer, as well as a translation of his narrative. The book of Ser Marco Polo has been most critically edited with introduction and voluminous notes by this English scholar, Sir Henry Yule. In this edition the accounts of Marco Polo, covering so many countries and peoples of the Far East, can be studied.

a prisoner and confined in Genoa. Here a fellow captive wrote down from Marco's own words the story of his eastern adventures, and this book we have to-day. It is a record of adventure, travel, and description, so wonderful that for years it was doubted and its accuracy disbelieved. But since, in our own time, men have been able to traverse again the routes over which Marco Polo passed, fact after fact has been established, quite as he truthfully stated them centuries ago. To have been the first European to make this mighty circuit of travel is certainly a strong title to enduring fame.

Countries of the Far East. — *India.* — Let us now briefly look at the countries of the Far East, which by the year 1400 had come to exercise over the mind of the European so irresistible a fascination. First of all, India, as we have seen, had for centuries been the principal source of the western commerce. But long before the date we are considering, the scepter of India had fallen from the hand of the Hindu. From the seventh century, India was a prey to Mohammedan conquerors, who entered from the northwest into the valley of the Indus. At first these were Saracens or Arabs; later they were the same Mongol converts to Mohammedanism, whose attacks upon Europe we have already noticed.

In 1398 came the furious and bloody warrior, the greatest of all Mongols, — Timour, or Tamerlane. He founded, with capital at Delhi, the empire of the Great Mogul, whose rule over India was only broken by the white man. Eastward across the Ganges and in the Dekkan, or southern part of India, were states ruled over by Indian princes.

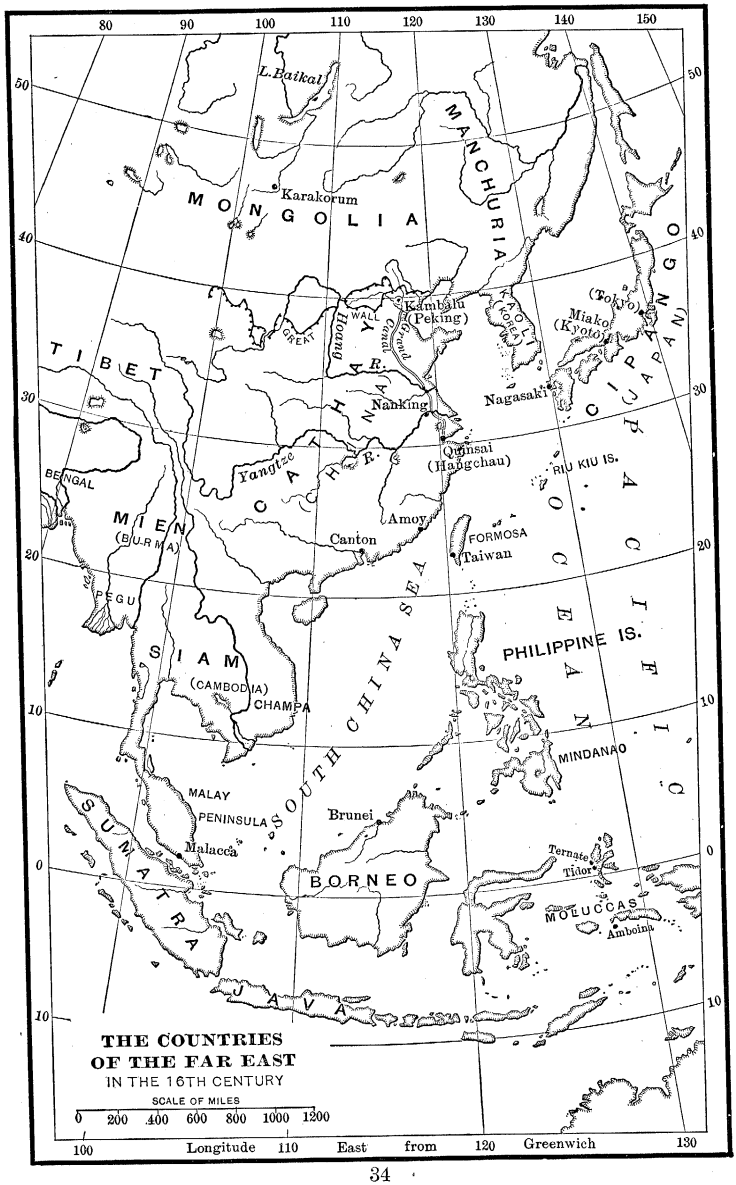
China. — We have seen how, at the time of Marco Polo, China also was ruled by the Tartar Mongols. The

Chinese have ever been subject to attack from the wandering horse-riding tribes of Siberia. Two hundred years before Christ one of the Chinese kings built the Great Wall that stretches across the northern frontier for one thousand three hundred miles, for a defense against northern foes. Through much of their history the Chinese have been ruled by aliens, as they are to-day. About 1368, however, the Chinese overthrew the Mongol rulers and established the Ming dynasty, the last Chinese house of emperors, who ruled China until 1644, when the Manchus, the present rulers, conquered the country.

China was great and prosperous under the Mings. Commerce flourished and the fleets of Chinese junks sailed to India, the Malay Islands, and to the Philippines for trade. The Grand Canal, which connects Peking with the Yangtze River basin and Hangchau, was completed. It was an age of fine productions of literature.

The Chinese seem to have been much less exclusive then than they later became; less a peculiar, isolated people than they were during Manchu rule. They did not then shave their heads nor wear a queue. These customs, as well as that hostility to foreign intercourse which they later showed, were forced upon China by the Manchus. China appeared at that time ready to assume a position of enormous influence among the peoples of the earth, — a position for which she was well fitted by the great industry of all classes and the high intellectual power of her learned men.

Japan. — Compared with China or India, or even some minor states, the development of Japan at this time was very backward. Her people were divided and there was constant civil war. The Japanese borrowed their civilization from the Chinese. From them they learned writing


L. Baikal
MANCHURIA
MONGOLIA
Karakorum
TIBET
GREAT WALL
Hoang Ho
Kambalu (Peking)
KOREA
(Tokyo)
Miako (Kyoto)
JAPAN
Nanking
Nagasaki
Yangtze
CHINA
Quinsai (Hangchau)
RIU KIU IS.
BENGAL
MIEN (BURMA)
Amoy
Canton
FORMOSA
Taiwan
PEGU
SIAM
(CAMBODIA)
CHAMPA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
PHILIPPINE IS.
MINDANAO
MALAY PENINSULA
Malacca
Brunei
SUMATRA
BORNEO
Ternate
Tidor
MOLUCCAS
Amboina
JAVA
THE COUNTRIES OF THE FAR EAST
IN THE 16TH CENTURY
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000 1200
Longitude East from Greenwich

and literature, and the Buddhist religion, which was introduced about 550 A.D. But in temperament they are a very different people, being spirited and warlike. Until recent years, they have despised trading and commerce.

Since the beginning of her history, Japan has been monarchical. The ruler, the Mikado, is believed to be of heavenly descent; but in the centuries we are discussing the government was controlled by powerful nobles, known as the Shoguns, who kept the emperors in retirement in the palaces of Kyoto, and themselves directed the State. The greatest of these shoguns was Iyeyasu, who ruled Japan about 1600, soon after Manila was founded. They developed in Japan a species of feudalism, the great lords, or "daimios," owning allegiance to the shoguns; and about the daimios, as feudal retainers, bodies of samurai, who formed a partly noble class of their own. The samurai carried arms, fought at their lords' command, were students and literati, and among them developed a proud, loyal, and elevated code of morality known as "Búshido," which has done much for the Japanese people. It is this samurai class who in modern times have effected the immense revolution in the condition and power of Japan.

The Malay Archipelego. — If now we look at the Malay Islands, we find, as we have already seen, that changes had been effected there. Hinduism had first elevated and civilized at least a portion of the race, and Mohammedanism and the daring seamanship of the Malay had united these islands under a common language and religion. There was, however, no political union. The Malay peninsula was divided. Java formed a central Malay power. Eastward among the beautiful Celebes and Moluccas, the true Spice Islands, were a multitude of small native rulers, rajas or datos, who surrounded themselves with retain-

ers, kept rude courts, and gathered wealthy tributes of cinnamon, nutmegs, and cloves. The sultans of Ternate, Tidor, and Amboina were especially powerful, and the islands they ruled the most rich and productive.

Between all these islands there was a busy commerce. The Malay is an intrepid sailor, and an eager trader. Fleets of praus, laden with goods, passed with the changing monsoons from part to part, risking the perils of piracy, which have always troubled this archipelago. Borneo, while the largest of all these islands, was the least developed, and down to the present day has been hardly explored. The Philippines were also outside of most of this busy intercourse and had at that date few products to offer for trade. Their main connection with the rest of the Malay race was through the Mohammedan Malays of Jolo and Borneo. The fame of the Spice Islands had long filled Europe, but the existence of the Philippines was unknown.

Summary. — We have now reviewed the condition of Europe and of farther Asia as they were before the period of modern discovery and colonization opened. The East had reached a condition of quiet stability. Mohammedanism, though still spreading, did not promise to effect great social changes. The institutions of the East had become fixed in custom and her peoples neither made changes nor desired them. On the other hand western Europe had become aroused to an excess of ambition. New ideas, new discoveries and inventions were moving the nations to activity and change. That era of modern discovery and progress, of which we cannot yet perceive the end, had begun.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREAT GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES.

An Eastern Passage to India. — *The Portuguese.* — We have seen in the last chapter how Venice held a monopoly of the only trading-route with the Far East. Some new way of reaching India must be sought, that would permit the traders of other Christian powers to reach the marts of the Orient without passing through Mohammedan lands. This surpassing achievement was accomplished by the Portuguese. So different at the present day has the power of Portugal become that few realize the daring and courage once displayed by her seamen and soldiers and the enormous colonial empire that she established.

Portugal freed her territory of the Mohammedan Moors nearly a century earlier than Spain; and the vigor and intelligence of a great king, John I., brought Portugal, about the year 1400, to an important place among the states of Europe. This king captured from the Moors the city of Ceuta, in Morocco; and this was the beginning of modern European colonial possessions, and almost the first land outside of Europe to be held by a European power since the times of the Crusades. King John's youngest son was Prince Henry, famous in history under the title of "the Navigator." This young prince, with something of the same adventurous spirit that filled the Crusaders, was ardent to extend the power of his father's kingdom and to widen the sway of the religion which he devotedly professed. The power of the Mohammedans in the Mediterranean was too great for him hopefully to oppose and so he planned the conquest of the west coast

of Africa, and its conversion to Christianity. With these ends in view, he established at Point Sagres, on the south-western coast of Portugal, a naval academy and observatory. Here he brought together skilled navigators, charts, and geographies, and all scientific knowledge that would assist in his undertaking.[1]

He began to construct ships larger and better than any in use. To us they would doubtless seem very clumsy and small, but this was the beginning of ocean ship-building. The compass and the astrolabe, or sextant, the little instrument with which, by calculating the height of the sun above the horizon, we can tell distance from the equator, were just coming into use. These, as well as every other practicable device for navigation known at that time, were supplied to these ships.

Exploration of the African Coast. — Thus equipped and ably manned, the little fleets began the exploration of the African coast, cautiously feeling their way southward and ever returning with reports of progress made. Year after year this work went on. In 1419 the Madeira Islands were rediscovered and colonized by Portuguese settlers. The growing of sugarcane was begun, and vines were brought from Burgundy and planted there. The

[1] See the noted work *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed the Navigator, and its Results*, by Richard Henry Major, London, 1868. Many of the views of Mr. Major upon the importance of Prince Henry's work and especially its early aims, have been contradicted in more recent writings. The importance of the Sagres Observatory is belittled. Doubts are expressed as to the farsightedness of Prince Henry's plans, and the best opinion of to-day holds that he did not hope to discover a new route to India by way of Africa, but sought simply the conquest of the "Guinea," which was known to the Europeans through the Arab Geographers, who called it "Bilad Ghana" or "Land of Wealth." The students, if possible, should read the essay of Mr. E. J. Payne, *The Age of Discovery*, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol I.

wine of the Madeiras has been famous to this day. Then were rediscovered the Canaries and in 1444 the Azores. The southward exploration of the coast of the mainland steadily continued until in 1445 the Portuguese reached the mouth of the Senegal River. Up to this point the African shore had not yielded much of interest to the Portuguese explorer or trader. Below Morocco the great Sahara Desert reaches to the sea and renders barren the coast for hundreds of miles.

South of the mouth of the Senegal and comprising the whole Guinea coast, Africa is tropical, well watered, and populous. This is the home of the true African Negro. Here, for almost the first time, since the beginning of the Middle Ages, Christian Europe came in contact with a race of ruder culture and different color than its own. This coast was found to be worth exploiting; for it yielded, besides various desirable resinous gums, three articles which have distinguished the exploitation of Africa, namely, gold, ivory, and slaves.

Beginning of Negro Slavery in Europe. — At this point begins the horrible and revolting story of European Negro slavery. The ancient world had practiced this ownership of human chattels, and the Roman Empire had declined under a burden of half the population sunk in bondage. To the enormous detriment and suffering of mankind, Mohammed had tolerated the institution, and slavery is permitted by the Koran. But it is the glory of the mediæval church that it abolished human slavery from Christian Europe. However dreary and unjust feudalism may have been, it knew nothing of that institution which degrades men and women to the level of cattle and remorselessly sells the husband from his family, the mother from her child.

Slaves in Portugal. — The arrival of the Portuguese upon the coast of Guinea now revived not the bondage of one white man to another, but that of the black to the white. The first slaves carried to Portugal were regarded simply as objects of peculiar interest, captives to represent to the court the population of those shores which had been added to the Portuguese dominion. But southern Portugal, from which the Moors had been expelled, had suffered from a lack of laborers, and it was found profitable to introduce Negroes to work these fields.

Arguments to Justify Slavery. — So arose the institution of Negro slavery, which a century later upon the shores of the New World was to develop into so tremendous and terrible a thing. Curiously enough, religion was evoked to justify this enslavement of the Africans. It was argued that these people, being heathen, were fortunate to be captured by Christians, that they might thereby be brought to baptism and conversion; for it is better for the body to perish than for the soul to be cast into hell. At a later age, when the result of this teaching had been realized, men still sought to justify the institution by arguing that the Almighty had created the African of a lower state especially that he might serve the superior race.

The coast of Guinea continued to be the resort of slavers down to the middle of the last century, and such scenes of cruelty, wickedness, and debauchery have occurred along its shores as can scarcely be paralleled in brutality in the history of any people.

The Portuguese can hardly be said to have colonized the coast in the sense of raising up there a Portuguese population. As he approached the equator the white man found that, in spite of his superior strength, he could not

permanently people the tropics. Diseases new to his experience attacked him. His energy declined. If he brought his family with him, his children were few or feeble and shortly his race had died out.

The settlements of the Portuguese were largely for the purposes of trade. At Sierra Leone, Kamerun, or Loango, they built forts and established garrisons, mounting pieces of artillery that gave them advantage over the attacks of the natives, and erecting warehouses and the loathsome "barracoons," where the slaves were confined to await shipment. The successors of these settlements still remain along the African coast, although the slave-trade happily has ended.

The Successful Voyage of Vasco da Gama. — Throughout the century Prince Henry's policy of exploration was continued. Slowly the middle coast of Africa became known. At last in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the extremity of the continent. He named it the Cape of Storms; but the Portuguese king, with more prophetic vision, renamed it the Cape of Good Hope. It was ten years, however, before the Portuguese could send another expedition. Then Vasco da Gama rounded the cape again, followed up the eastern coast until the Arab trading-stations were reached. Then he struck across the sea, landed at the Malabar coast of India, and in 1498 arrived at Calicut. The end dreamed of by all of Europe had been achieved. A sea-route to the Far East had been discovered.

Results of Da Gama's Voyage. — The importance of this performance was instantly recognized in Europe. Venice was ruined. "It was a terrible day," said a contemporary writer, "when the word reached Venice. Bells were rung, men wept in the streets, and even the bravest

were silent." The Arabs and the native rulers made a desperate effort to expel the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean, but their opponents were too powerful. In the course of twenty years Portugal had founded an empire that had its forts and trading-marts from the coast of Arabia to Malaysia. Zanzibar, Aden, Oman, Goa, Calicut, and Madras were all Portuguese stations, fortified and secured. In the Malay peninsula was captured the city of Malacca, which retained its commercial importance until the last century, when it dwindled before the competition of Singapore.

The work of building up this great domain was largely that of one man, the intrepid Albuquerque. Think what his task was! He was thousands of miles from home and supplies, he had only such forces and munitions as he could bring with him in his little ships, and opposed to him were millions of inhabitants and a multitude of Mohammedan princes. Yet this great captain built up an Indian empire. Portugal at one bound became the greatest trading and colonizing power in the world. Her sources of wealth appeared fabulous, and, like Venice, she made every effort to secure her monopoly. The fleets of other nations were warned that they could not make use of the Cape of Good Hope route, on penalty of being captured or destroyed.

Reaching India by Sailing West. — *The Earth as a Sphere.* — Meanwhile, just as Portugal was carrying to completion her project of reaching India by sailing *east,* Europe was electrified by the supposed successful attempt of reaching India by sailing directly *west,* across the Atlantic. This was the plan daringly attempted in 1492 by Christopher Columbus. Columbus was an Italian sailor and cosmographer of Genoa. The idea of sailing west to

India did not originate with him, but his is the immortal glory of having persistently sought the means and put the idea into execution.

The Portuguese discoveries along the African coast gradually revealed the extension of this continent and the presence of people beyond the equator, and the possibility of passing safely through the tropics. This knowledge was a great stimulus to the peoples of Europe. The geographical theory of the Greeks, that the world is round, was revived. The geographers, however, in making their calculations of the earth's circumference, had fallen into an error of some thousands of miles; that is, instead of finding that it is fully twelve thousand miles from Europe around to the East Indies, they had supposed it about four thousand, or even less. Marco Polo too had exaggerated the distance he had traveled and from his accounts men had been led to believe that China, Japan, and the Spice Islands lay much further to the east than they actually do.

By sailing west across one wide ocean, with no intervening lands, it was thought that one could arrive at the island-world off the continent of Asia. This was the theory that was revived in Italy and which clung in men's minds for years and years, even after America was discovered.

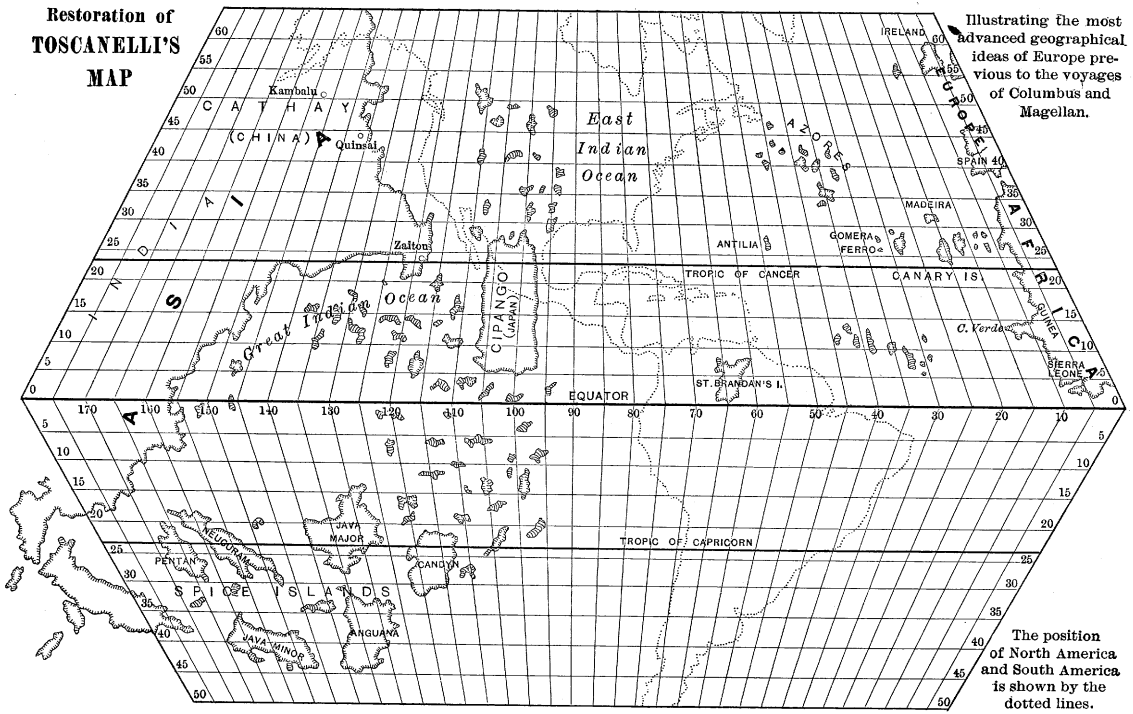
An Italian, named Toscanelli, drew a map showing how this voyage could be made, and sent Columbus a copy. By sailing first to the Azores, a considerable portion of the journey would be passed, with a convenient resting-stage. Then about thirty-five days' favorable sailing would bring one to the islands of "Cipango," or Japan, which Marco Polo had said lay off the continent of Asia. From here the passage could readily be pursued to Cathay and India.

The Voyage of Christopher Columbus. — The romantic and inspiring story of Columbus is told in many books, — his poverty, his genius, his long and discouraging pursuit of the means to carry out his plan. He first applied to Portugal; but, as we have seen, this country had been pursuing another plan steadily for a century, and, now that success appeared almost achieved, naturally the Portuguese king would not turn aside to favor Columbus's plan.

For years Columbus labored to interest the Spanish court. A great event had happened in Spanish history. Ferdinand, king of Aragon, had wedded Isabella of Castile, and this marriage united these two kingdoms into the modern country of Spain. Soon the smaller states except Portugal were added, and the war for the expulsion of the Moors was prosecuted with new vigor. In 1492, Grenada, the last splendid stronghold of the Mohammedans in the peninsula, surrendered, and in the same year Isabella furnished Columbus with the ships for his voyage of discovery.

Columbus sailed from Palos, August 3, 1492, reached the Canaries August 24, and sailed westward on September 6. Day after day, pushed by the strong winds, called the "trades," they went forward. Many doubts and fears beset the crews, but Columbus was stout-hearted. At the end of thirty-four days from the Canaries, on October 12, they sighted land. It was one of the groups of beautiful islands lying between the two continents of America. But Columbus thought that he had reached the East Indies that really lay many thousands of miles farther west. Columbus sailed among the islands of the archipelago, discovered Cuba and Hispaniola (Haiti), and then returned to convulse Europe with excitement over the new-found way

Restoration of TOSCANELLI'S MAP



Illustrating the most advanced geographical ideas of Europe previous to the voyages of Columbus and Magellan.

The position of North America and South America is shown by the dotted lines.

to the East. He had not found the rich Spice Islands, the peninsula of India, Cathay or Japan, but every one believed that these must be close to the islands on which Columbus had landed.

The tall, straight-haired, copper-colored natives, whom Columbus met on the islands, he naturally called "Indians"; and this name they still bear. Afterwards the islands were called the "West Indies." Columbus made three more voyages for Spain. On the fourth, in 1498, he touched on the coast of South America. Here he discovered the great Orinoco River. Because of its large size, he must have realized that a large body of land opposed the passage to the Orient. He died in 1506, disappointed at his failure to find India, but never knowing what he had found, nor that the history of a new hemisphere had begun with him.

The Voyage of the Cabots. — In the same year that Columbus discovered the Orinoco, Sebastian Cabot, of Italian parentage, like Columbus, secured ships from the king of England, hoping to reach China and Japan by sailing west on a northern route. What he did discover was a rugged and uninviting coast, with stormy headlands, cold climate, and gloomy forests of pine reaching down to the sandy shores. For nine hundred miles he sailed southward, but everywhere this unprofitable coast closed the passage to China. It was the coast of Labrador and the United States. Yet for years and years it was not known that a continent three thousand miles wide and the greatest of all oceans lay between Cathay and the shore visited by Cabot's ships. This land was thought to be a long peninsula, an island, or series of islands, belonging to Asia. No one supposed or could suppose that there was a continent here.

Naming the New World. — But in a few years Europe did realize that a new continent had been discovered in South America. If you will look at your maps, you will see that South America lies far to the eastward of North America and in Brazil approaches quite close to Africa. This Brazilian coast was visited by a Portuguese fleet on the African route in 1500, and two years later another fleet traversed the coast from the Orinoco to the harbor of Rio Janeiro. Their voyage was a veritable revelation. They entered the mighty current of the Amazon, the greatest river of the earth. They saw the wondrous tropical forests, full of monkeys, great snakes, and stranger animals. They dealt and fought with the wild and ferocious inhabitants, whose ways startled and appalled the European. All that they saw filled them with greatest wonder. This evidently was not Asia, nor was it the Indies. Here, in fact, was a new continent, a veritable "Mundus Novus."

The pilot of this expedition was an Italian, named Amerigo Vespucci. On the return this man wrote a very interesting letter or little pamphlet, describing this new world, which was widely read, and brought the writer fame. A few years later a German cosmographer, in preparing a new edition of Ptolemy's geography, proposed to give to this new continent the name of the man who had made known its wonders in Europe. So it was called "America." Long after, when the northern shores were also proved to be those of a continent, this great land was named "North America." No injustice was intended to Columbus when America was so named. It was not then supposed that Columbus had discovered a continent. The people then believed that Columbus had found a new route to India and had discovered some new islands that lay off the coast of Asia.

Spain Takes Possession of the New Lands. — Of these newly found islands and whatever wealth they might be found to contain, Spain claimed the possession by right of discovery. And of the European nations, it was Spain which first began the exploration and colonization of America. Spain was now free from her long Mohammedan wars, and the nation was being united under Ferdinand and Isabella. The Spaniards were brave, adventurous, and too proud to engage in commerce or agriculture, but ready enough to risk life and treasure in quest of riches abroad. The Spaniards were devotedly religious, and the Church encouraged conquest, that missionary work might be extended. So Spain began her career that was soon to make her the foremost power of Europe and one of the greatest colonial empires the world has seen. It is amazing what the Spaniards accomplished in the fifty years following Columbus's first voyage.

Hispaniola was made the center from which the Spaniards extended their explorations to the continents of both North and South America. On these islands of the West Indies they found Indians, — especially the Caribs. They were fierce and cruel. The Spaniards waged a warfare of extermination against them, killing many, and enslaving others for work in the mines. The Indian proved unable to exist as a slave. And his sufferings drew the attention of a Spanish priest, Las Casas, who by vigorous efforts at the court succeeded in having Indian slavery abolished and African slavery introduced to take its place. This remedy was in the end worse than the disease, for it gave an immense impetus to the African slave-trade and peopled America with a race of Africans in bondage.

Other Spanish Explorations and Discoveries. — Meanwhile, the Spanish soldier, with incredible energy, courage.

and daring, pushed his conquests. In 1513, Florida was discovered, and in the same year Balboa crossed the narrow isthmus of Panama and saw the Pacific Ocean. Contrary to what is often supposed, he did not dream of its vast extent, but supposed it to be a narrow body of water lying between Panama and the Asian islands. He named it the "South Sea," a name that survived after its true character was revealed by Magellan. Then followed the two most romantic and surprising conquests of colonial history, — that of Mexico by Cortés in 1521, and of Peru by Pizarro in 1533–34. These great countries were inhabited by Indians, the most advanced and cultured on the American continents. And here the Spaniards found enormous treasures of gold and silver. Then, the discovery of the mines of Potosí opened the greatest source of the precious metal that Europe had ever known. Spaniards flocked to the New World, and in New Spain, as Mexico was called, was established a great vice-royalty. Year after year enormous wealth was poured into Spain from these American possessions.

Emperor Charles V. — Meanwhile great political power had been added to Spain in Europe. In 1520 the throne of Spain fell to a young man, Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. His mother was Juana, the Spanish princess, and his father was Philip the Handsome, of Burgundy. Philip the Handsome was the son of Maximilian, the Archduke of Austria. Now it curiously happened that the thrones of each of these three countries was left without other heirs than Charles, and in 1520 he was King of Spain, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy and the Low Countries, including the rich commercial cities of Holland and Belgium. In addition to all this, the German princes elected him German

emperor, and although he was King Charles the First of Spain, he is better known in history as Emperor Charles the Fifth.[1]

He was then an untried boy of twenty years, and no one expected to find in him a man of resolute energy, cold persistence, and great executive ability. But so it proved, and this was the man that made of Spain the greatest power of the time. He was in constant warfare. He fought four wars with King Francis I. of France, five wars with the Turks, both in the Danube valley and in Africa, and an unending succession of contests with the Protestant princes of Germany. For Charles saw, besides many other important changes, the rise of Protestantism, and the revolt of Germany, Switzerland, and England from Catholicism. The first event in his emperorship was the assembling of the famous German Diet at Worms, where was tried and condemned the main founder of the Protestant religion, Martin Luther.

The Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan. — In the mean time a way had at last been found to reach the Orient from Europe by sailing west. This discovery, the greatest voyage ever made by man, was accomplished, in 1521, by the fleet of Ferdinand Magellan. Magellan was a Portuguese, who had been in the East with Albuquerque. He had fought with the Malays in Malacca, and had helped to establish the Portuguese power in India.

On his return to Portugal, the injustice of the court drove him from his native country, and he entered the service of Spain. Charles the Fifth commissioned him to attempt a voyage of discovery down the coast of South

[1] The classical work on this famous ruler is Robertson's *Life of Charles the Fifth,* but the student should consult if possible more recent works.

America, with the hope of finding a passage to the East. This was Magellan's great hope and faith, — that south of the new continent of America must lie a passage westward, by which ships could sail to China. As long as Portugal was able to keep closed the African route to all other ships than her own, the discovery of some other way was imperative.

On the 20th of September, 1519, Magellan's fleet of five ships sailed from Sanlúcar, the seaport of the city of Seville, where were equipped the Spanish colonial fleets. On November 29th they reached the shores of Brazil and then coasted southward. They traded with the natives, and at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata stayed some days to fish.

The weather grew rapidly colder and more stormy as they went farther south, and Magellan decided to stop and winter in the Bay of San Julian. Here the cold of the winter, the storms, and the lack of food caused a conspiracy among his captains to mutiny and return to Spain. Magellan acted with swift and terrible energy. He captured one of the mutinous vessels, and the chief conspirator was stabbed by the constable, Espinosa. The rest surrendered; one leader was executed and two others were "marooned," or left to their fate on the shore.

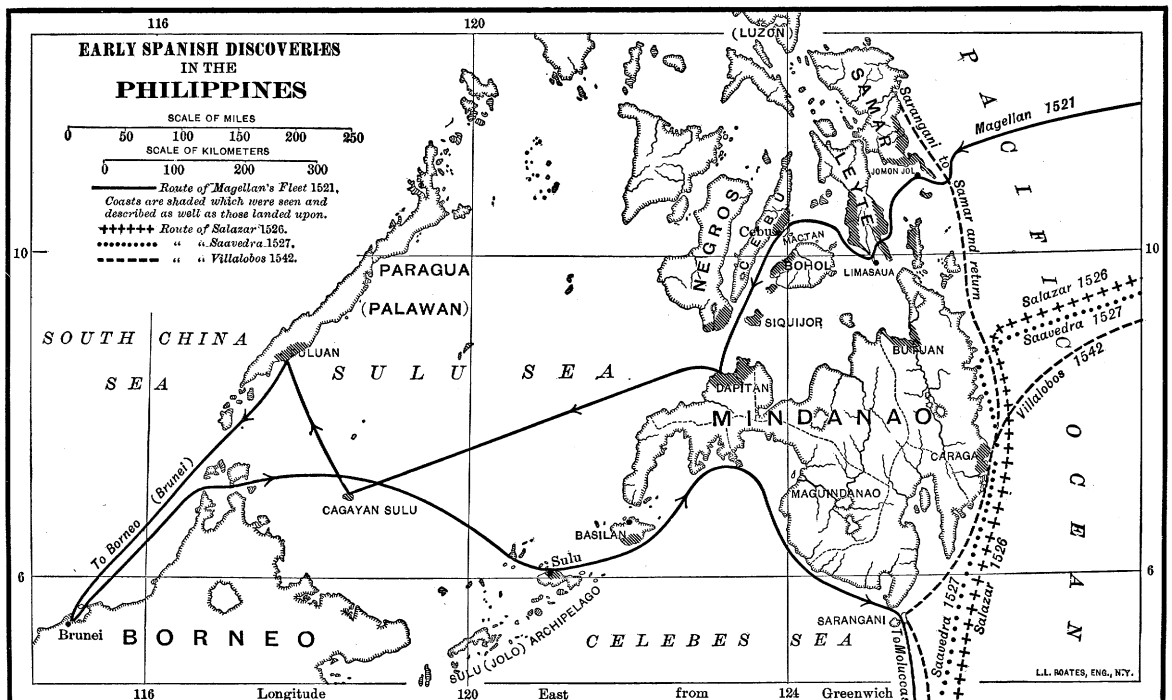
The Straits of Magellan. — The fleet sailed southward again in August but it was not until November 1, 1520, that Magellan entered the long and tortuous straits that bear his name and which connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. South of them were great bleak islands, cold and desolate. They were inhabited by Indians, who are probably the lowest and most wretched savages on the earth. They live on fish and mussels. As they go at all times naked, they carry with them in their

boats brands and coals of fire. Seeing the numerous lights on the shore, Magellan named these islands Tierra del Fuego (the Land of Fire). For thirty days the ships struggled with the currents and shifting winds that prevail in this channel, during which time one ship deserted and returned to Spain; another had been lost, and only three passed out onto the boundless waters of the Pacific.

Westward on the Pacific Ocean. — But we must not make the mistake of supposing that Magellan and his followers imagined that a great ocean confronted them. They expected that simply sailing northward to the latitude of the Spice Islands would bring them to these desired places. This they did, and then turned westward, expecting each day to find the Indies; but no land appeared. The days lengthened into weeks, the weeks into months, and still they went forward, carried by the trade winds over a sea so smooth and free from tempests that Magellan named it the "Pacific."

But they suffered horribly from lack of food, even eating in their starvation the leather slings on the masts. It was a terrible trial of their courage. Twenty of their number died. The South Pacific is studded with islands, but curiously their route lay just too far north to behold them. From November 28, when they emerged from the Straits of Magellan, until March 7, when they reached the Ladrones, they encountered only two islands, and these were small uninhabited rocks, without water or food, which in their bitter disappointment they named the Unfortunate Islands.

The Ladrone Islands. — Their relief must have been inexpressible when, on coming up to land on March the 7th, they found inhabitants and food, yams, cocoanuts, and rice. At these islands the Spaniards first saw the


EARLY SPANISH DISCOVERIES
IN THE
PHILIPPINES
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 100 200 300
Route of Magellan's Fleet 1521.
Coasts are shaded which were seen and described as well as those landed upon.
Route of Salazar 1526.
" " Saavedra 1527.
" " Villalobos 1542.
116
120
124
10
6
(LUZON)
SAMAR
LEYTE
NEGROS
CEBU
Cebu
MACTAN
BOHOL
LIMASAUA
JOMON JOL
Sarangani to Samar and return
Magellan 1521
PACIFIC OCEAN
Salazar 1526
Saavedra 1527
Villalobos 1542
PARAGUA
(PALAWAN)
SOUTH CHINA SEA
SULU SEA
SIQUIJOR
BUCUAN
DAPITAN
MINDANAO
CARAGA
MAGUINDANAO
CULUAN
CAGAYAN SULU
To Borneo (Brunei)
BASILAN
Sulu
Brunei
BORNEO
SULU (JOLO) ARCHIPELAGO
CELEBES SEA
SARANGANI
To Moluccas
Saavedra 1527
Salazar 1526
L.L. BOATES, ENG., N.Y.
Longitude
East
from
Greenwich

prau, with its light outrigger, and pointed sail. So numerous were these craft that they named the group Las Islas de las Velas (the Islands of Sails); but the loss of a ship's boat and other annoying thefts led the sailors to designate the islands Los Ladrones (the Thieves), a name which they still retain.

The Philippine Islands.—*Samar.*—Leaving the Ladrones Magellan sailed on westward looking for the Moluccas, and the first land that he sighted was the eastern coast of Samar. Pigafetta says: "Saturday, the 16th of March, we sighted an island which has very lofty mountains. Soon after we learned that it was Zamal, distant three hundred leagues from the islands of the Ladrones."[1]

Homonhon.—On the following day the sea-worn expedition landed on a little uninhabited island south of Samar which Pigafetta called Humunu, and which is still known as Homonhon.

It was while staying at this little island that the Spaniards first saw the natives of the Philippines. A prau which contained nine men approached their ship. They saw other boats fishing near and learned that all of these people came from the island of Suluan, which lies off to the eastward of Homonhon about twenty kilometres. In their life and appearance these fishing people were much like the present Samal laut of southern Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago.

Limasaua.—Pigafetta says that they stayed on the island of Homonhon eight days but had great difficulty in securing food. The natives brought them a few cocoanuts and oranges, palm wine, and a chicken or two, but this was all that could be spared, so, on the 25th, the

[1] *Primer Viaje alrededor del Mundo*, Spanish translation by Amoretti, Madrid, 1899, page 27.

Spaniards sailed again, and near the south end of Leyte landed on the little island of Limasawa. Here there was a village, where they met two chieftains, whom Pigafetta calls "kings," and whose names were Raja Calambu and Raja Ciagu. These two chieftains were visiting Limasawa and had their residences one at Butuan and one at Cagayan on the island of Mindanao. Some histories have stated that the Spaniards accompanied one of these chieftains to Butuan, but this does not appear to have been the case.

On the island of Limasawa the natives had dogs, cats, hogs, goats, and fowls. They were cultivating rice, maize, breadfruit, and had also cocoanuts, oranges, bananas, citron, and ginger. Pigafetta tells how he visited one of the chieftains at his home on the shore. The house was built as Filipino houses are today, raised on posts and thatched. Pigafetta thought it looked "like a haystack."

It had been the day of Saint Lazarus when the Spaniards first reached these islands, so that Magellan gave to the group the name of the Archipelago of Saint Lazarus, the name under which the Philippines were frequently described in the early writings, although another title, Islas del Poniente or Islands of the West, was more common up to the time when the title Filipinas became fixed.

Cebu. — Magellan's people were now getting desperately in need of food, and the population on Limasawa had very inadequate supplies; consequently the natives directed him to the island of Cebu, and provided him with guides.

Leaving Limasawa the fleet sailed for Cebu, passing several large islands, among them Bohol, and reaching Cebu harbor on Sunday, the 7th of April. A junk from Siam was anchored at Cebu when Magellan's ships arrived

there; and this, together with the knowledge that the Filipinos showed of the surrounding countries, including China on the one side and the Moluccas on the other, is additional evidence of the extensive trade relations at the time of the discovery.

Cebu seems to have been a large town and it is reported that more than two thousand warriors with their lances appeared to resist the landing of the Spaniards, but assurances of friendliness finally won the Filipinos, and Magellan formed a compact with the dato of Cebu, whose name was Humabon.

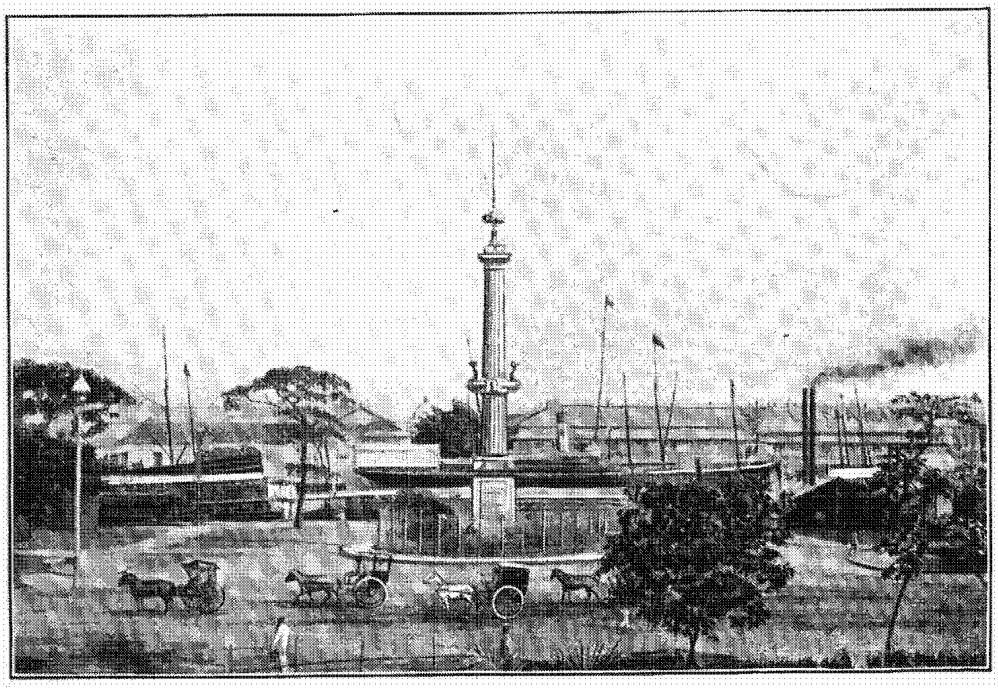
The Blood Compact. — The dato invited Magellan to seal this compact in accordance with a curious custom of the Filipinos. Each chief wounded himself in the breast and from the wound each sucked and drank the other's blood. It is not certain whether Magellan participated in this "blood compact," as it has been called; but later it was observed many times in the Spanish settlement of the islands, especially by Legazpi.

The natives were much struck by the service of the mass, which the Spaniards celebrated on their landing, and after some encouragement desired to be admitted to the Spaniards' religion. More than eight hundred were baptized, including Humabon. The Spaniards established a kind of "factory" or trading-post on Cebu, and for some time a profitable trade was engaged in. The Filipinos well understood trading, had scales, weights, and measures, and were fair dealers.

Death of Magellan.— And now follows the great tragedy of the expedition. The dato of Cebu, or the "Christian king," as Pigafetta called their new ally, was at war with the islanders of Mactan. Magellan, eager to assist one who had adopted the Christian faith, landed on Mac-

tan with fifty men and in the battle that ensued was killed by a wound in the arm and spear-thrusts through the breast. So died the one who was perhaps the greatest explorer and most daring adventurer of all time. "Thus," says Pigafetta, "perished our guide, our light, and our support." It was the crowning disaster of the expedition.

The Fleet Visits Other Islands. — After Magellan's death, the natives of Cebu rose and killed the newly



Magellan Monument, Manila.

elected leader, Serrano, and the fleet in fear lifted its anchors and sailed southward from the Bisayas. They had lost thirty-five men and their numbers were reduced to one hundred and fifteen. One of the ships was burned, there being too few men surviving to handle three vessels. After touching at western Mindanao, they sailed westward, and saw the small group of Cagayan Sulu. The

few inhabitants they learned were Moros, exiled from Borneo. They landed on an island called Pulaoan (hence Palawan), where they observed the sport of cock-fighting, indulged in by the natives.

From here, still searching for the Moluccas, they were guided to Borneo, the present city of Brunei. Here was a powerful Mohammedan colony, whose adventurers were already in communication with Luzon and had established a colony on the site of Manila. The city was divided into two sections, that of the Mohammedan Malays, the conquerors, and that of the Dyaks, the primitive population of the island. Pigafetta exclaims over the riches and power of this Mohammedan city. It contained twenty-five thousand families, the houses built for most part on piles over the water. The king's house was of stone, and beside it was a large brick fort, with over sixty brass and iron cannon. Here the Spaniards rode upon elephants. There was a rich trade here in ginger, camphor, gums, and in pearls from Sulu.

Hostilities cut short their stay here and they sailed eastward along the north coast of Borneo through the Sulu Archipelago, where their cupidity was excited by the pearl fisheries, and on to Mindanao. Here they took some prisoners, who piloted them south to the Moluccas, and finally, on November 8, they anchored at Tidor. These Molucca islands, at this time, were at the height of the Malayan power. The ruler or raja of Tidor was Almanzar, of Ternate, Corala; the "king" of Gilolo was Yusef. With all these rulers the Spaniards exchanged presents, and the rajas are said by the Spaniards to have sworn perpetual amnesty to the Spaniards and acknowledged themselves vassals of the king. In exchange for cloths, the Spaniards laid in a rich cargo of

cloves, sandalwood, ginger, cinnamon, and gold. They established here a trading-post and hoped to hold these islands against the Portuguese.

The Return to Spain. — It was decided to send one ship, the "Victoria," to Spain by way of the Portuguese route and the Cape of Good Hope, while the other would return to America. Accordingly the "Victoria," with a little crew of sixty men, thirteen of them natives, under the command of Juan Sebastian Elcano, set sail. The passage was unknown to the Spaniards and full of perils. They sailed to Timor and thence out into the Indian Ocean. They rounded Africa, sailing as far south as 42 degrees. Then they went northward, in constant peril of capture by some Portuguese fleet, encountering storms and suffering scarcity of food. Their distress must have been extreme, for on this final passage twenty-one of their small number died.

At Cape Verde Islands they entered the port for supplies, trusting that at so northern a point their real voyage would not be suspected. But some one of the party, who went ashore for food, in an hour of intoxication boasted of the wonderful journey they had performed and showed some of the products of the Spice Islands. Immediately the Portuguese governor gave orders for the seizure of the Spanish vessel and Elcano, learning of his danger, left his men who had gone on shore, raised sail, and put out for Spain.

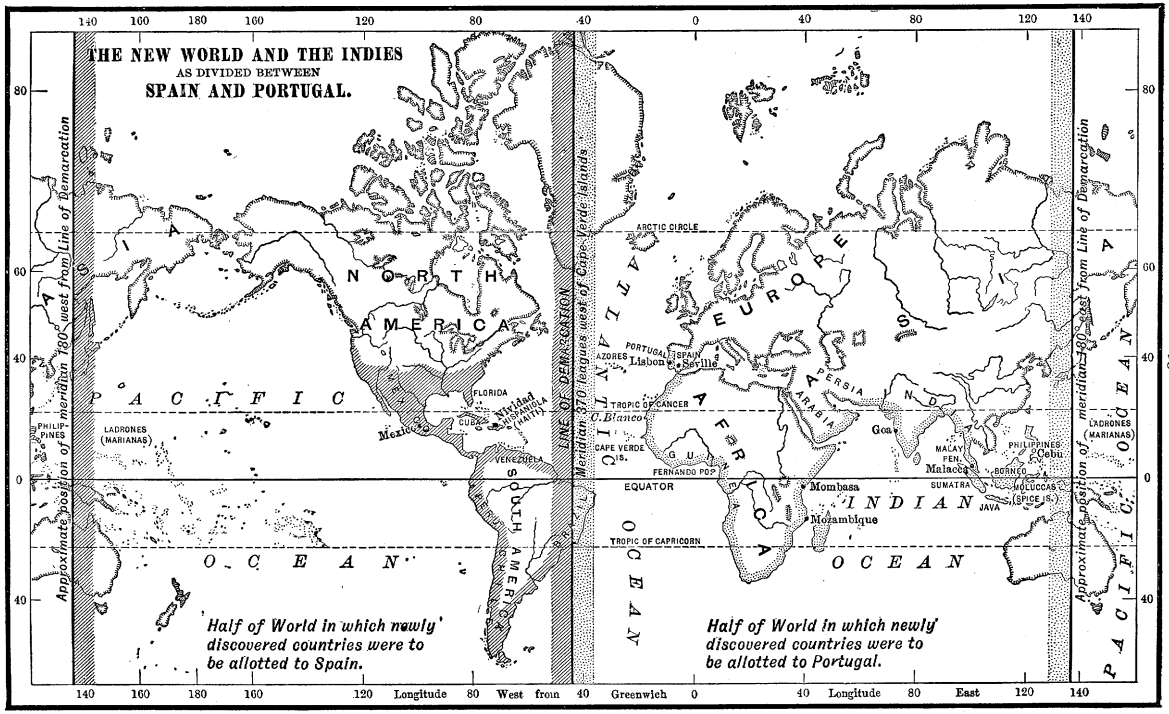
On the 6th of September, 1522, they arrived at Sanlúcar, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River, on which is situated Seville, one ship out of the five, and eighteen men out of the company of 234 who had set sail almost three full years before. Spain welcomed her worn and tired seamen with splendid acclaim. To Elcano was

given a title of nobility and the famous coat-of-arms, showing the sprays of clove, cinnamon, and nutmeg, and the effigy of the globe with the motto, the proudest and worthiest ever displayed on any adventurer's shield, *Primus circumdedisti me.*

The First Circumnavigation of the Earth.—Thus with enormous suffering and loss of life was accomplished the first circumnavigation of the earth. It proved that Asia could be reached, although by a long and circuitous route, by sailing westward from Europe. It made known to Europe that the greatest of all oceans lies between the New World and Asia, and it showed that the earth is incomparably larger than had been believed and supposed. It was the greatest voyage of discovery that has ever been accomplished, and greater than can ever be performed again.

New Lands Divided between Spain and Portugal. — By this discovery of the Philippines and a new way to the Spice Islands, Spain became engaged in a long dispute with Portugal. At the beginning of the modern age, there was in Europe no system of rules by which to regulate conduct between states. That system of regulations and customs which we call International Law, and by which states at the present time are guided in their dealings, had not arisen. During the middle age, disputes between sovereigns were frequently settled by reference to the emperor or to the pope, and the latter had frequently asserted his right to determine all such questions as might arise. The pope had also claimed to have the right of disposing of all heathen and newly discovered lands and peoples.

So, after the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus, on request of the Court of Spain, Pope Alexander VI. divided the new lands between them. He declared that


THE NEW WORLD AND THE INDIES
AS DIVIDED BETWEEN
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.
Approximate position of meridian 180° west from Line of Demarcation
Approximate position of meridian 180° east from Line of Demarcation
LINE OF DEMARCATION
Meridian 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands
ASIA
NORTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
AFRICA
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
AZORES
Lisbon
Seville
TROPIC OF CANCER
C. Blanco
CAPE VERDE IS.
FERNANDO POO
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
FLORIDA
CUBA
Mexico
VERACRUZ
PERSIA
ARABIA
Goa
Mombasa
Mozambique
MALAY PEN.
Malacca
SUMATRA
BORNEO
JAVA
MOLUCCAS (SPICE IS.)
PHILIPPINES
Cebu
PHILIPPINES
LADRONES (MARIANAS)
Half of World in which newly discovered countries were to be allotted to Spain.
Half of World in which newly discovered countries were to be allotted to Portugal.
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East

all newly discovered countries to the west of a meridian 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands should be Spanish possessions. A year later Spain agreed with Portugal to shift this line to the meridian 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands. This division, carried on the same meridian around the globe, resulted in giving India and Malaysia to Portugal and all the New World, except Brazil, to Spain.

As a matter of fact, 180 degrees west of the meridian finally agreed upon extended to the western part of New Guinea, and not quite to the Moluccas; but in the absence of exact geographical knowledge both parties claimed the Spice Islands. Portugal denied to Spain all right to the Philippines as well, and, as we shall see, a conflict in the Far East began, which lasted nearly through the century. Portugal captured the traders whom Elcano had left at Tidor, and broke up the Spanish station in the Spice Islands. The "Trinidad," the other ship, which was intended to return to America, was unable to sail against the strong winds, and had to put back to Tidor, after cruising through the waters about New Guinea.

Effect of the Century of Discoveries. — This circumnavigation of the globe completed a period of discovery, which had begun a hundred years before with the timid, slow attempts of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa. In these years a new era had opened. At its beginning the European knew little of any peoples outside of his own countries, and he held scarcely any land outside the continent of Europe. At the end of a hundred years the earth had become fairly well known, the African race, the Malay peoples, the American Indians, and the Pacific islanders had been seen and described, and from now on the history of the white race was to be connected

with that of these other races. The age of colonization, of world-wide trade and intercourse, had begun. The white man, who had heretofore been narrowly pressed in upon Europe, threatened again and again with conquest by the Mohammedan, was now to cover the seas with his fleets and all lands with his power.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FILIPINO PEOPLE BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS.

Position of Tribes. — On the arrival of the Spaniards, the population of the Philippines seems to have been distributed by tribes in much the same manner as at present. Then, as now, the Bisayas occupied the central islands of the Archipelago and some of the northern coast of Mindanao. The Bikols, Tagálogs, and Pampangos were in the same parts of Luzon as we find them to-day. The Ilokanos occupied the coastal plain facing the China Sea, but since the arrival of the Spaniards they have expanded considerably and their settlements are now numerous in Pangasinan, Nueva Vizcaya, and the valley of the Cagayan.

The Number of People. — These tribes, which to-day number nearly 7,000,000 souls, at the time of Magellan's discovery may not have been more than 500,000. An early enumeration of the population made by the Spaniards in 1591, which included practically all of these tribes, gave a population of less than 700,000. (See Chapter VII., *The Philippines Three Hundred Years Ago.*)

There are other facts too that show us how sparse the population must have been. The Spanish expeditions found many coasts and islands in the Bisayan group without inhabitants. Occasionally a sail or a canoe would be seen, and then these would disappear in some small "estero" or mangrove swamp and the land seem as unpopulated as before. At certain points, like Linasawa, Butuan, and Bohol, the natives were more numerous, and Cebu was a large and thriving community; but

the Spaniards had nearly everywhere to search for settled places and cultivated lands.

The sparseness of population is also well indicated by the great scarcity of food. The Spaniards had much difficulty in securing sufficient provisions. A small amount of rice, a pig and a few chickens, were obtainable here and there, but the Filipinos had no large supplies. After the settlement of Manila was made, a large part of the food of the city was drawn from China. The very ease with which the Spaniards marched where they willed and reduced the Filipinos to obedience shows that the latter were weak in numbers. Laguna de Bay and the Camarines were among the most populous portions of the archipelago. All of these things and others show that the Filipinos were but a small fraction of their present number.

On the other hand, the Negritos seem to have been more numerous, or at least more in evidence. They were immediately noticed on the island of Negros, where at the present they are few and confined to the interior; and in the vicinity of Manila and in Batangas, where they are no longer found, they were mingling with the Tagálog population.

Conditions of Culture.—The culture of the various tribes, which is now quite the same throughout the archipelago, presented some differences. In the southern Bisayas, where the Spaniards first entered the archipelago, there seem to have been two kinds of natives: the hill dwellers, who lived in the interior of the islands in small numbers, who wore garments of tree bark and who sometimes built their houses in the trees; and the sea dwellers, who were very much like the present day Moro tribes south of Mindanao, who are known as the Samal, and who built their villages over the sea or on the shore and

lived much in boats. These were probably later arrivals than the forest people. From both of these elements the Bisaya Filipinos are descended, but while the coast people have been entirely absorbed, some of the hill-folk are still pagan and uncivilized, and must be very much as they were when the Spaniards first came.

The highest grade of culture was in the settlements where there was regular trade with Borneo, Siam, and China, and especially about Manila, where many Mohammedan Malays had colonized.

Languages of the Peoples. — Including the present speech of Negritos, all the languages of the Philippines belong to one great family, which has been called the "Malayo-Polynesian." All are believed to be derived from one very ancient mother-tongue. It is astonishing how widely these Malayo-Polynesian tongues have spread. Farthest east in the Pacific are the Polynesian languages, then those of the small islands known as Micronesia; then, excepting the Melanesian, the Malayan throughout the East Indian archipelago, and to the north the languages of the Philippines. But this is not all; for far westward on the coast of Africa is the island of Madagascar, many of whose languages have no connection with the African but belong to the Malayo-Polynesian family.[1]

The Tagálog Language. — It should be a matter of real interest to Filipinos that the great scientist, Baron

[1] The discovery of this famous relationship is attributed to the Spanish Jesuit, Abbé Lorenzo Hervas, whose notable *Catálogo de las Lenguas de las Naciones conocidas* was published in 1800–05; but the similarity of Malay and Polynesian had been earlier shown by naturalists who accompanied the second voyage of the famous Englishman, Captain Cook (1772–75). The full proof, and the relation also of Malagasy, the language of Madagascar, was given in 1838 by the great German philologist, Baron William von Humboldt.

William von Humboldt, considered the Tagálog to be the richest and most perfect of all the languages of the Malayo-Polynesian family, and perhaps the type of them all. "It possesses," he said, "all the forms collectively of which particular ones are found singly in other dialects; and it has preserved them all with very trifling exceptions unbroken, and in entire harmony and symmetry." The Spanish friars, on their arrival in the Philippines, devoted themselves at once to learning the native dialects and to the preparation of prayers and catechisms in these native tongues. They were very successful in their studies. Father Chirino tells us of one Jesuit who learned sufficient Tagálog in seventy days to preach and hear confession. In this way the Bisayan, the Tagálog, and the Ilokano were soon mastered.

In the light of the opinion of Von Humboldt, it is interesting to find these early Spaniards pronouncing the Tagálog the most difficult and the most admirable. "Of all of them," says Padre Chirino, "the one which most pleased me and filled me with admiration was the Tagálog. Because, as I said to the first archbishop, and afterwards to other serious persons, both there and here, I found in it four qualities of the four best languages of the world: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Spanish; of the Hebrew, the mysteries and obscurities; of the Greek, the articles and the precision not only of the appellative but also of the proper nouns; of the Latin, the wealth and elegance; and of the Spanish, the good breeding, politeness, and courtesy." [1]

An Early Connection with the Hindus. — The Malayan languages contain a considerable proportion of words borrowed from the Sanskrit, and in this the Tagálog,

[1] *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 2d ed., p. 52.

Bisayan, and Ilokano are included. Whether these words were passed along from one Malayan group to another, or whether they were introduced by the actual presence and power of the Hindu in this archipelago, may be fair ground for debate; but the case for the latter position has been so well and brilliantly put by Dr. Pardo de Tavera that his conclusions are here given in his own words. "The words which Tagálog borrowed," he says, "are those which signify intellectual acts, moral conceptions, emotions, superstitions, names of deities, of planets, of numerals of high number, of botany, of war and its results and consequences, and finally of titles and dignities, some animals, instruments of industry, and the names of money."

From the evidence of these words, Dr. Pardo argues for a period in the early history of the Filipinos, not merely of commercial intercourse, like that of the Chinese, but of Hindu political and social domination. "I do not believe," he says, "and I base my opinion on the same words that I have brought together in this vocabulary, that the Hindus were here simply as merchants, but that they dominated different parts of the archipelago, where to-day are spoken the most cultured languages, — the Tagálo, the Visayan, the Pampanga, and the Ilocano; and that the higher culture of these languages comes precisely from the influence of the Hindu race over the Filipino."

The Hindus in the Philippines.—"It is impossible to believe that the Hindus, if they came only as merchants, however great their number, would have impressed themselves in such a way as to give to these islanders the number and the kind of words which they did give. These names of dignitaries, of caciques, of high functionaries of the court, of noble ladies, indicate that all of these high positions with names of Sanskrit origin were occupied at

one time by men who spoke that language. The words of a similar origin for objects of war, fortresses, and battle-songs, for designating objects of religious belief, for superstitions, emotions, feelings, industrial and farming activities, show us clearly that the warfare, religion, literature, industry, and agriculture were at one time in the hands of the Hindus, and that this race was effectively dominant in the Philippines." [1]

Systems of Writing among the Filipinos. — When the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines, the Filipinos were using systems of writing borrowed from Hindu or Javanese sources. This matter is so interesting that one can not do better than to quote in full Padre Chirino's account, as he is the first of the Spanish writers to mention it and as his notice is quite complete.

"So given are these islanders to reading and writing that there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, that does not read and write in letters peculiar to the island of Manila, very different from those of China, Japan, and of India, as will be seen from the following alphabet.

"The vowels are three; but they serve for five, and are,

a e, i o, u

The consonants are no more than twelve, and they serve to write both consonant and vowel, in this form. The letter alone, without any point either above or below, sounds with *a*.

[1] Another possible explanation of the many Sanskrit terms which are found in the Philippine languages, is that the period of contact between Filipinos and Hindus occurred not in the Philippines but in Java and Sumatra, whence the ancestors of the Filipinos perhaps came

Ba	ca	da	ga	ha	la
ma	na	pa	sa	ta	ya

Placing the point above, each one sounds with *e* or with *i*

Bi	qui	di	gui	hi	li
be	que	de	gue	he	le
mi	ni	pi	si	ti	yi
me	ne	pe	se	te	ye

Placing the point below, it sounds with *o* or with *u*.

bo	co	do	go	ho	lo
bu	cu	du	gu	hu	lu
mo	no	po	so	to	yo
mu	nu	pu	su	tu	yu

For instance, in order to say 'cama,' the two letters alone suffice.

ca - ma

If to the there is placed a point above, it will say

que - ma

If it is given to both below, it will say

co - mo

The final consonants are supplied or understood in all cases, and so to say 'cantar,' they write

ca - ta

barba,

ba - ba

But with all, and that without many evasions, they make themselves understood, and they themselves understand marvellously. And the reader supplies, with much skill and ease, the consonants that are lacking. They have learned from us to write running the lines from the left hand to the right, but formerly they only wrote from above downwards, placing the first line (if I remember rightly) at the left hand, and continuing with the others to the right, the opposite of the Chinese and Japanese. . . . They write upon canes or on leaves of a palm, using for a pen a point of iron. Nowadays in writing not only

their own but also our letters, they use a quill very well cut, and paper like ourselves.

They have learned our language and pronunciation, and write as well as we do, and even better; for they are so bright that they learn everything with the greatest ease. I have brought with me handwriting with very good and correct lettering. In Tigbauan, I had in school a very small child, who in three months' time learned, by copying from well-written letters that I set him, to write enough better than I, and transcribed for me writings of importance very faithfully, and without errors or mistakes. But enough of languages and letters; now let us return to our occupation with human souls." [1]

Sanskrit Source of the Filipino Alphabet.— Besides the Tagálogs, the Bisayas, Pampangos, Pangasinans, and Ilokanos had alphabets, or more properly syllabaries similar to this one. Dr. Pardo de Tavera has gathered many data concerning them, and shows that they were undoubtedly received by the Filipinos from a Hindu source.

Early Filipino Writings. — The Filipinos used this writing for setting down their poems and songs, which were their only literature. Little of this, however, has come down to us, and the Filipinos soon adopted the Spanish alphabet, forming the syllables necessary to write their language from these letters. As all these have phonetic values, it is still very easy for a Filipino to learn to pronounce and so read his own tongue. These old characters lingered for a couple of centuries, in certain places. Padre Totanes [2] tells us that it was rare in 1705 to find a person who could use them; but the Tagbanwas, of Palawan

[1] *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 2d ed., pp. 58, 59, chap. XVII.
[2] *Arte de la Lengua Tagala.*

and the Mangyan of Mindoro use similar syllabaries to this day. Besides poems, they had songs which they sang as they rowed their canoes, as they pounded the rice from its husk, and as they gathered for feast or entertainment; and especially there were songs for the dead. In these songs, says Chirino, they recounted the deeds of their ancestors or of their deities.

Chinese in the Philippines.— *Early Trade.* — Very different from the Hindu was the early influence of the Chinese. There is no evidence that, previous to the Spanish conquest, the Chinese settled or colonized in these islands at all; and yet three hundred years before the arrival of Magellan their trading-fleets were coming here regularly and several of the islands were well known to them. One evidence of this prehistoric trade is in the ancient Chinese jars and pottery which have been exhumed in the vicinity of Manila, but the Chinese writings themselves furnish us even better proof. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, though not earlier than 1205, a Chinese author named Chao Ju-kua wrote a work upon the maritime commerce of the Chinese people. One chapter of his work is devoted to the Philippines, which he calls the country of Mayi.[1] According to this record it is indicated that the Chinese were familiar with the islands of the archipelago seven hundred years ago.[2]

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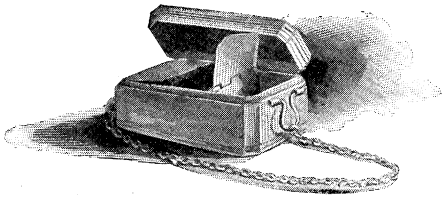
[1] This name is derived, in the opinion of Professor Blumentritt, from Bayi, or Bay, meaning Laguna de Bay. Professor Meyer, in his *Distribution of the Negritos,* suggests an identification from this Chinese record, of the islands of Mindanao, Palawan (called Pa-lao-yu) and Panay, Negros, Cebu, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, and Luzon.

[2] Through the courtesy of Professor Zulueta, of the Manila Liceo, permission was given to use from Chao Ju-kua's work these quotations, translated from the Chinese manuscript by Professor Blumentritt. The English translation is by Mr. P. L. Stangl.

Chinese Description of the People. — "The country of Mayi," says this interesting classic, "is situated to the north of Poni (Burney, or Borneo). About a thousand families inhabit the banks of a very winding stream. The natives clothe themselves in sheets of cloth resembling bed sheets, or cover their bodies with sarongs. (The sarong is the gay colored, typical garment of the Malay.) Scattered through the extensive forests are copper Buddha images, but no one knows how they got there.[1]



Moro Brass Betel Box.

"When the merchant (Chinese) ships arrive at this port they anchor in front of an open place . . . which serves as a market, where they trade in the produce of the country. When a ship enters this port, the captain makes presents of white umbrellas (to the mandarins). The merchants are obliged to pay this tribute in order to obtain the good will of these lords." The products of the country are stated to be yellow wax, cotton, pearls, shells, betel nuts, and jute cloth, which was perhaps one of the several cloths still woven of abacá, or piña. The articles imported by the Chinese were "porcelain, trade gold, objects of lead, glass beads of all colors, iron cooking-pans, and iron needles."

The Negritos. — Very curious is the accurate mention in this Chinese writing, of the Negritos, the first of all

[1] "This would confirm," says Professor Blumentritt, "Dr. Pardo de Tavera's view that in ancient times the Philippines were under the influence of Buddhism from India."

accounts to be made of the little blacks. "In the interior of the valleys lives a race called Hai-tan (Aeta). They are of low stature, have round eyes of a yellow color, curly hair, and their teeth are easily seen between their lips. (That is, probably, not darkened by betel-chewing or artificial stains.) They build their nests in the treetops and in each nest lives a family, which only consists of from three to five persons. They travel about in the densest thickets of the forests, and, without being seen themselves, shoot their arrows at the passers-by; for this reason they are much feared. If the trader (Chinese) throws them a small porcelain bowl, they will stoop down to catch it and then run away with it, shouting joyfully."

Increase in Chinese Trade.—These junks also visited the more central islands, but here traffic was conducted on the ships, the Chinese on arrival announcing themselves by beating gongs and the Filipinos coming out to them in their light boats. Among other things here offered by the natives for trade are mentioned "strange cloth," perhaps sinamay or jusi, and fine mats.

This Chinese trade continued probably quite steadily until the arrival of the Spaniards. Then it received an enormous increase through the demand for Chinese food-products and wares made by the Spaniards, and because of the value of the Mexican silver which the Spaniards offered in exchange.

Trade with the Moro Malays of the South. — The spread of Mohammedanism and especially the foundation of the colony of Borneo brought the Philippines into important commercial relations with the Malays of the south. Previous to the arrival of the Spaniards these relations seem to have been friendly and peaceful. The Mohammedan

Malays sent their praus northward for purposes of trade, and they were also settling in the north Philippines as they had in Mindanao.

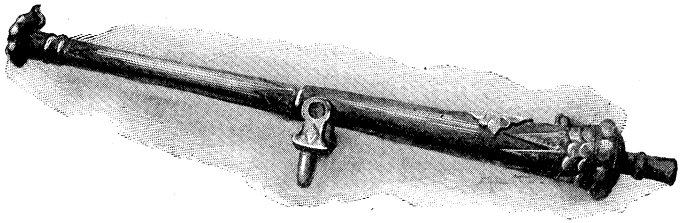
When Legazpi's fleet, soon after its arrival, lay near the island of Bohol, Captain Martin de Goiti had a hard fight with a Moro vessel which was cruising for trade, and took six prisoners. One of them, whom they call the "pilot," was closely interrogated by the commander and some interesting information obtained, which is recorded by Padre San Augustín. Legazpi had a Malay slave interpreter with him and San Augustín says that Padre Urdaneta "knew well the Malayan language." The pilot said that "those of Borneo brought for trade with the Filipinos, copper and tin, which was brought to Borneo from China, porcelain, dishes, and bells made in their fashion, very different from those that the Christians use, and benzoin, and colored blankets from India, and cooking-pans made in China, and that they also brought iron lances very well tempered, and knives and other articles of barter, and that in exchange for them they took away from the islands gold, slaves, wax, and a kind of small seashell which they call 'sijueyes,' and which passes for money in the kingdom of Siam and other places; and also they carry off some white cloths, of which there is a great quantity in the islands." [1]

Butuan, on the north coast of Mindanao, seems to have been quite a trading-place resorted to by vessels from all quarters. This region, like many other parts of the Philippines, has produced from time immemorial small quantities of gold, and all the early voyagers speak of the gold earrings and ornaments of the natives. Butuan also produced sugarcane and was a trading-port for

[1] *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 95.

slaves. This unfortunate traffic in human life seems to have been not unusual, and was doubtless stimulated by the commerce with Borneo. Junks from Siam trading with Cebu were also encountered by the Spaniards.

Result of this Intercourse and Commerce. — This intercourse and traffic had acquainted the Filipinos with many of the accessories of civilized life long before the arrival of the Spaniards. Their chiefs and datos dressed in silks, and maintained some splendor of surroundings; nearly the whole population of the tribes of the coast wrote and



Moro Brass Cannon, or "Lantaka."

communicated by means of a syllabary; vessels from Luzon traded as far south as Mindanao and Borneo, although the products of Asia proper came through the fleets of foreigners; and perhaps what indicates more clearly than anything else the advance the Filipinos were making through their communication with outside people is their use of firearms. Of this point there is no question. Everywhere in the vicinity of Manila, on Lubang, in Pampanga, at Cainta and Laguna de Bay, the Spaniards encountered forts mounting small cannon, or "lantakas." [1] The Filipinos seem to have understood, more-

[1] *Relación de la Conquista de la Isla de Luzón,* 1572; in Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino,* vol. I.

over, the arts of casting cannon and of making powder. The first gun-factory established by the Spaniards was in charge of a Filipino from Pampanga.

Early Political and Social Life. — *The Barangay.* — The weakest side of the culture of the early Filipinos was their political and social organization, and they were weak here in precisely the same way that the now uncivilized peoples of northern Luzon are still weak. Their state did not embrace the whole tribe or nation; it included simply the community. Outside of the settlers in one immediate vicinity, all others were enemies or at most foreigners. There were in the Philippines no large states, nor even great rajas and sultans such as were found in the Malay Archipelago, but instead on every island were a multitude of small communities, each independent of the other and frequently waging war.

The unit of their political order was a little cluster of houses of from thirty to one hundred families, called a "barangay," which still exists in the Philippines as the "barrio." At the head of each barangay was a chief known as the "dato," a word no longer used in the northern Philippines, though it persists among the Moros of Mindanao. The powers of these datos within their small areas appear to have been great, and they were treated with utmost respect by the people.

The barangays were grouped together in tiny federations including about as much territory as the present towns, whose affairs were conducted by the chiefs or datos, although sometimes they seem to have all been in obedience to a single chief, known in some places as the "hari," at other times by the Hindu word "raja," or the Mohammedan term "sultan." Sometimes the power of one of these rajas seems to have extended over the

whole of a small island, but usually their "kingdoms" embraced only a few miles.

Changes Made by the Spaniards. — The Spaniards, in enforcing their authority through the islands, took away the real power from the datos, grouping the barangays into towns, or "pueblos," and making the datos, headmen, *caciques* or *principales*. Something of the old distinction between the dato, or "principal," and the common man may be still represented in the "gente ilustrada," or the more wealthy, educated, and influential class found in each town, and the "gente baja," or the poor and uneducated.

Classes of Filipinos under the Datos. — Beneath the datos, according to Chirino and Morga, there were three classes of Filipinos. First were the free "maharlika," who paid no tribute to the dato, but who accompanied him to war, rowed his boat when he went on a journey, and attended him in his house. This class is called by Morga "timauas." [1]

Then there was a very large class, who appear to have been freedmen or liberated slaves, who had acquired their own homes and lived with their families, but who owed to dato or maharlika heavy debts of service; to sow and harvest in his ricefields, to tend his fish-traps, to row his canoe, to build his house, to attend him when he had guests, and to perform any other duties that the chief might command. These semi-free were called "aliping namamahay," and their condition of bondage descended to their children.

Beneath these existed a class of slaves. These were the "siguiguiliris," and they were numerous. Their slavery

[1] *Sucésos de las Filipinas*, p. 297.

arose in several ways. Some were those who as children had been captured in war and their lives spared. Some became slaves by selling their freedom in times of hunger. But most of them became slaves through debt, which descended from father to son. A debt of five or six pesos was enough in some cases to deprive a man of his freedom.

These slaves were absolutely owned by their lord, who could theoretically sell them like cattle; but, in spite of its bad possibilities, this Filipino slavery was apparently not of a cruel or distressing nature. The slaves frequently associated on kindly relations with their masters and were not overworked. This form of slavery still persists in the Philippines among the Moros of Mindanao and Jolo. Children of slaves inherited their parents' slavery. If one parent was free and the other slave, the first, third, and fifth children were free and the second, fourth, and sixth slaves. This whole matter of inheritance of slavery was curiously worked out in details.

Life in the Barangay. — Community feeling was very strong within the barangay. A man could not leave his own barangay for life in another without the consent of the community and the payment of money. If a man of one barrio married a woman of another, their children were divided between the two barangays. The barangay was responsible for the good conduct of its members, and if one of them suffered an injury from a man outside, the whole barangay had to be appeased. Disputes and wrongs between members of the same barangay were referred to a number of old men, who decided the matter in accordance with the customs of the tribe, which were handed down by tradition.[1]

[1] These data are largely taken from the account of the customs of the Tagálog prepared by Friar Juan de Plasencia, in 1589, at the

The Religion of the Filipinos. — The Filipinos on the arrival of the Spaniards were fetish-worshipers, but they had one spirit whom they believed was the greatest of all and the creator or maker of things. The Tagálogs called this deity *Bathala,*[1] the Bisayas, *Laon,* and the Ilokanos, *Kabunian.* They also worshiped the spirits of their ancestors, which were represented by small images called "anitos." Fetishes, which are any objects believed to possess miraculous power, were common among the people, and idols or images were worshiped. Pigafetta describes some idols which he saw in Cebu, and Chirino tells us that, within the memory of Filipinos whom he knew, they had idols of stone, wood, bone, or the tooth of a crocodile, and that there were some of gold.

They also reverenced animals and birds, especially the crocodile, the crow, and a mythical bird of blue or yellow color, whch was called by the name of their deity Bathala.[2] They had no temples or public places of worship, but each one had his anitos in his own house and performed his sacrifices and acts of worship there. As sacrifices they killed pigs or chickens, and made such occasions times of feasting, song, and drunkenness. The life of the

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request of Dr. Santiago de Vera, the governor and president of the Audiencia. Although there are references to it by the early historians of the Philippines, this little code did not see the light until a few years ago, when a manuscript copy was discovered in the convent of the Franciscans at Manila, by Dr. Pardo de Tavera, and was by him published. It treats of slave-holding, penalties for crime, inheritances, adoption, dowry, and marriage. (*Las Costumbres de los Tagálog en Filipinas, segun el Padre Plasencia,* by T. H. Pardo de Tavera. Madrid, 1892.)

[1] See on this matter *Diccionario Mitologico de Filipinas,* by Blumentritt; Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino,* vol. II.

[2] This word is of Sanskrit origin and is common throughout Malaysia.

Filipino was undoubtedly filled with superstitious fears and imaginings.

The Mohammedan Malays. — The Mohammedans outside of southern Mindanao and Jolo, had settled in the vicinity of Manila Bay and on Mindoro, Lubang, and adjacent coasts of Luzon. The spread of Mohammedanism was stopped by the Spaniards, although it is narrated that for a long time many of those living on the shores of Manila Bay refused to eat pork, which is forbidden by the Koran, and practiced the rite of circumcision. As late as 1583, Bishop Salazar, in writing to the king of affairs in the Philippines, says the Moros had preached the law of Mohammed to great numbers in these islands and by this preaching many of the Gentiles had become Mohammedans; and further he adds, "Those who have received this foul law guard it with much persistence and there is great difficulty in making them abandon it; and with cause too, for the reasons they give, to our shame and confusion, are that they were better treated by the preachers of Mohammed than they have been by the preachers of Christ." [1]

Material Progress of the Filipinos. — The material surroundings of the Filipino before the arrival of the Spaniards were in nearly every way quite as they are to-day. The "center of population" of each town to-day, with its great church, tribunal, stores and houses of stone and wood, is certainly in marked contrast; but the appearance of a barrio a little distance from the center is to-day probably much as it was then. Then, as now, the bulk of the people lived in humble houses of bam-

[1] *Relación de las Cosas de las Filipinas hecha por Sr. Domingo de Salazar, Primer obispo de dichas islas,* 1583; in Retana, *Archivo,* vol. III.

boo and nipa raised on piles above the dampness of the soil; then, as now, the food was largely rice and the excellent fish which abound in river and sea. There were on the water the same familiar bancas and fish corrals, and on land the rice fields and cocoanut groves. The Filipinos had then most of the present domesticated animals, — dogs, cats, goats, chickens, and pigs, — and perhaps in Luzon the domesticated buffalo, although this animal was widely introduced into the Philippines from China after the Spanish conquest. Horses followed the Spaniards and their numbers were increased by the bringing in of Chinese mares, whose importation is frequently mentioned.

The Spaniards introduced also the cultivation of tobacco, coffee, and cacao, and perhaps also the native corn of America, the maize, although Pigafetta says they found it already growing in the Bisayas.

The Filipino has been affected by these centuries of Spanish sovereignty far less on his material side than he has on his spiritual, and it is mainly in the deepening and elevating of his emotional and mental life and not in the bettering of his material condition that advance has been made.

CHAPTER V.

THE SPANISH SOLDIER AND THE SPANISH MISSIONARY.

History of the Philippines as a Part of the History of the Spanish Colonies. — We have already seen how the Philippines were discovered by Magellan in his search for the Spice Islands. Brilliant and romantic as is the story of that voyage, it brought no immediate reward to Spain. Portugal remained in her enjoyment of the Eastern trade and nearly half a century elapsed before Spain obtained a settlement in these islands. But if for a time he neglected the Far East, the Spaniard from the Peninsula threw himself with almost incredible energy and devotion into the material and spiritual conquest of America. All the greatest achievements of the Spanish soldier and the Spanish missionary had been secured within fifty years from the day when Columbus sighted the West Indies.

In order to understand the history of the Philippines, we must not forget that these islands formed a part of this great colonial empire and were under the same administration; that for over two centuries the Philippines were reached through Mexico and to a great extent influenced by Mexico; that the same governors, judges, and soldiers held office in both hemispheres, passing from America to the Philippines and being promoted from the Islands to the higher official positions of Mexico and Peru. So to understand the rule of Spain in the Philippines, we must study the great administrative machinery and the

great body of laws which were developed for the government of the Indies.[1]

Character of the Spanish Explorers. — The conquests themselves were largely effected through the enterprise and wealth of private individuals; but these men held commissions from the Spanish crown, their actions were subject to strict royal control, and a large proportion of the profits and plunder of their expeditions were paid to the royal treasury. Upon some of these conquerors the crown bestowed the proud title of "adelantado." The Spanish nobility threw themselves into these hazardous undertakings with the courage and fixed determination born of their long struggle with the Moors. Out of the soul-trying circumstances of Western conquest many obscure men rose, through their brilliant qualities of spirit, to positions of eminence and power; but the exalted offices of viceroy and governor were reserved for the titled favorites of the king.

The Royal Audiencia. — Very early the Spanish court, in order to protect its own authority, found it necessary to replace the ambitious and adventurous conqueror by a ruler in close relationship with and absolute dependence on the royal will. Thus in Mexico, Cortés the conqueror was removed and succeeded by the viceroy Mendoza, who established upon the conquests of the former the great Spanish colony of New Spain, to this day the most populous of all the states planted by Spain in America.

To limit the power of the governor or viceroy, as well

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[1] Consult *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, by Professor Bernard Moses, Philippine Commissioner and first Secretary of Public Instruction; also "The Governor-General of the Philippines under Spain and America," by David P. Barrows, *American Historical Review*, vol. xxi.

as to act as a supreme court for the settlement of actions and legal questions, was created the "Royal Audiencia." This was a body of men of noble rank and learned in the law, sent out from Spain to form in each country a colonial court; but its powers were not alone judicial; they were also administrative. In the absence of the governor the audiencia assumed his duties.

Treatment of the Natives by the Spanish. — In his treatment of the natives, whose lands he captured, the Spanish king attempted three things, — first, to secure to the colonist and to the crown the advantages of their labor, second, to convert the Indians to the Christian religion as maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, and third, to protect them from cruelty and inhumanity. Edict after edict, law after law, issued from the Spanish throne with these ends in view. As they stand upon the greatest of colonial law-books, the *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, they display an admirable sensitiveness to the needs of the Indian and an appreciation of the dangers to which he was subjected; but in the actual practice these beneficent provisions were too often useless.

The first and third of Spain's purposes in her treatment of the native proved incompatible. History has shown that liberty and enlightenment can not be taken from a race with one hand and protection given it with the other. All classes of Spain's colonial government were frankly in pursuit of wealth. Greed filled them all, and was the mainspring of every discovery and every settlement. The king wanted revenue for his treasury; the noble and the soldier, booty for their private purse; the friar, wealth for his order; the bishop, power for his church. All this wealth had to come out of the native toiler on the lands which the Spanish conqueror had seized; and while noble

motives were probably never absent and at certain times prevailed, yet in the main the native of America and of the Philippines was a sufferer under the hand and power of the Spaniard.

"The Encomenderos."—Spain's system of controlling the lives and the labor of the Indians was based to a certain extent on the feudal system, still surviving in the Peninsula at the time of her colonial conquests. The captains and soldiers and priests of her successful conquests had assigned to them great estates or fruitful lands with their native inhabitants, which they managed and ruled for their own profit. Such estates were called first "repartimientos." But very soon it became the practice, in America, to grant large numbers of Indians to the service of a Spaniard, who had over them the power of a master and who enjoyed the profits of their labor. In return he was supposed to provide for the conversion of the Indians and their religious instruction. Such a grant of Indians was called an "encomienda." The "encomendero" was not absolute lord of the lives and properties of the Indians, for elaborate laws were framed for the latter's protection. Yet the granting of subjects without the land on which they lived made possible their transfer and sale from one encomendero to another, and in this way thousands of Indians of America were made practically slaves, and were forced into labor in the mines.

As we have already seen, the whole system was attacked by the Dominican priest, Las Casas, a truly noble character in the history of American colonization, and various efforts were made in America to limit the encomiendas and to prevent their introduction into Mexico and Peru; but the great power of the encomendero in America, together with the influence of the Church, which held extensive

encomiendas, had been sufficient to extend the institution, even against Las Casas' impassioned remonstrances. Its abolition in Mexico was decreed in 1544, but "commissioners representing the municipality of Mexico and the religious orders were sent to Spain to ask the king to revoke at least those parts of the 'New Laws' which threatened the interests of the settlers. By a royal decree of October 20, 1545, the desired revocation was granted. This action filled the Spanish settlers with joy and the enslaved Indians with despair." [1]

Thus was the institution early established as a part of the colonial system and came with the conquerors to the Philippines.

Restrictions on Colonization and Commerce. — For the management of all colonial affairs the king created a great board, or bureau, known as the "Council of the Indies," which sat in Madrid and whose members were among the highest officials of Spain. The Spanish government exercised the closest supervision over all colonial matters, and colonization was never free. All persons, wares, and ships, passing from Spain to any of her colonial possessions, were obliged to pass through Seville, and this one port alone.

This wealthy ancient city, situated on the river Guadalquivir in southwestern Spain, was the gateway to the Spanish Empire. From this port went forth the mailed soldier, the robed friar, the adventurous noble, and the brave and highborn Spanish ladies, who accompanied their husbands to such great distances over the sea. And back to this port were brought the gold of Peru, the silver of Mexico, and the silks and embroideries of China, dispatched through the Philippines.

[1] Moses: *Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, p. 12.

It must be observed that all intercourse between Spain and her colonies was rigidly controlled by the government. Spain sought to create and maintain an exclusive monopoly of her colonial trade. To enforce and direct this monopoly, there was at Seville the Commercial House, or "Casa de Contratación." No one could sail from Spain to a colonial possession without a permit and after government registration. No one could send out goods or import them except through the Commercial House and upon the payment of extraordinary imposts. Trade was absolutely forbidden to any except Spaniards. And by her forts and fleets Spain strove to isolate her colonies from the approach of Portuguese, Dutch, or English, whose ships, no less daringly manned than those of Spain herself, were beginning to traverse the seas in search of the plunder and spoils of foreign conquest and trade.

Summary of the Colonial Policy of Spain. — Spain sought foreign colonies, first, for the spoils of accumulated wealth that could be seized and carried away at once, and, secondly, for the income that could be procured through the labor of the inhabitants of the lands she gained. In framing her government and administration of her colonies, she sought primarily the political enlightenment and welfare neither of the Spanish colonist nor the native race, but the glory, power, and patronage of the crown. The commercial and trade regulations were devised, not to develop the resources and increase the prosperity of the colonies, but to add wealth to the Peninsula. Yet the purposes of Spain were far from being wholly selfish. With zeal and success she sought the conversion of the heathen natives, whom she subjected, and in this showed a humanitarian interest in advance of the Dutch and English, who rivaled her in colonial empire.

The colonial ideals under which the policy of Spain was framed were those of the times. In the centuries that have succeeded, public wisdom and conscience on these matters have immeasurably improved. Nations no longer make conquests frankly to exploit them, but the public opinion of the world demands that the welfare of the colonial subject be sought and that he be protected from official greed. There is great advance still to be made. It can hardly be said that the world yet recognizes that a stronger people should assist a weaker without assurance of material reward, but this is the direction in which the most enlightened feeling is advancing. Every undertaking of the white race, which has such aims in view, is an experiment worthy of profound interest and solicitous sympathy.

Result of the Voyage of Magellan and Elcano. — The mind of the Spanish adventurer was greatly excited by the results of Sebastian Elcano's voyage. Here was the opportunity for rich trade and great profit. Numerous plans were laid before the king, one of them for the building of an Indian trading-fleet and an annual voyage to the Moluccas to gather a great harvest of spices.

Portugal protested against this move until the question of her claim to the Moluccas, under the division of Pope Alexander, could be settled. The exact longitude of Ternate west from the line 370 leagues beyond the Verde Islands was not well known. Spaniards argued that it was less than 180 degrees, and, therefore, in spite of Portugal's earlier discovery, belonged to them. The pilot, Medina, for example, explained to Charles V. that from the meridian 370 degrees west of San Anton (the most westerly island of the Verde group) to the city of Mexico was 59 degrees, from Mexico to Navidad, 9 degrees, and

from this port to Cebu, 100 degrees, a total of only 168 degrees, leaving a margin of 12 degrees; therefore by the final treaty the Indies, Moluccas, Borneo, Gilolo, and the Philippines were Spain's.[1] A great council of embassadors and cosmographers was held at Badajoz in 1524, but reached no agreement. Spain announced her resolution to occupy the Moluccas, and Portugal threatened with death the Spanish adventurers who should be found there.

The First Expedition to the Philippines. — Spain acted immediately upon her determination, and in 1525 dispatched an expedition under Jofre de Loaisa to reap the fruits of Magellan's discoveries.[2] The captain of one vessel was Sebastian Elcano, who completed the voyage of Magellan. On his ship sailed Andrés de Urdaneta, who later became an Augustinian friar and accompanied the expedition of Legazpi that finally effected the settlement of the Philippines. Not without great hardship and losses did the fleet pass the Straits of Magellan and enter the Pacific Ocean. In mid-ocean Loaisa died, and four days later the famous Sebastian Elcano. Following a route somewhat similar to that of Magellan, the fleet reached first the Ladrone Islands and later the coast of Mindanao. From here they attempted to sail to Cebu, but the strong northeast monsoon drove them southward to the Moluccas, and they landed on Tidor the last day of the year 1526.

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[1] *Demarcación del Maluco, hecha por el maestro Medina,* in *Documentos inéditos,* vol. V., p. 552.

[2] This and subsequent voyages are given in the *Documentos inéditos,* vol. V., and a graphic account is in Argensola's *Conquista de las Islas Molucas.* They are also well narrated in English by Burney, *Discoveries in the South Sea,* vol. I., chapters V., XII., and XIV.

The Failure of the Expedition. — The Portuguese were at this moment fighting to reduce the native rajas of these islands to subjection. They regarded the Spaniards as enemies, and each party of Europeans was shortly engaged in fighting and in inciting the natives against the other. The condition of the Spaniards became desperate in the extreme, and indicates at what cost of life the conquests of the sixteenth century were made. Their ships had become so battered by storm as to be no longer seaworthy. The two officers, who had successively followed Loaisa and Elcano in command, had likewise perished. Of the 450 men who had sailed from Spain, but 120 now survived. These, under the leadership of Hernando de la Torre, threw up a fort on the island of Tidor, unable to go farther or to retire, and awaited hoped-for succor from Spain.

Relief came, not from the Peninsula, but from Mexico. Under the instructions of the Spanish king, in October, 1527, Cortés dispatched from Mexico a small expedition in charge of D. Alvaro de Saavedra. Swept rapidly by the equatorial trades, in a few months Saavedra had traversed the Carolines, reprovisioned on Mindanao, and reached the survivors on Tidor. Twice they attempted to return to New Spain, but strong trade winds blow without cessation north and south on either side of the equator for the space of more than twelve hundred miles, and the northern latitude of calms and prevailing westerly winds were not yet known.

Twice Saavedra beat his way eastward among the strange islands of Papua and Melanesia, only to be at last driven back upon Tidor and there to die. The survivors were forced to abandon the Moluccas. By surrendering to the Portuguese they were assisted to return

to Europe by way of Malacca, Ceylon, and Africa, and they arrived at Lisbon in 1536, the survivors of Loaisa's expedition, having been gone from Spain eleven years.

The efforts of the Spanish crown to obtain possession of the Spice Islands, the Moluccas and Celebes, with their coveted products of nutmeg, cinnamon, and pepper, were for the time suspended. By the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529) the Emperor, Charles V., for the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand gold ducats, mortgaged his claim to the Moluccas. For thirteen years the provisions of this treaty were respected by the Spaniards, and then another attempt was made to obtain a foothold in the East Indies.

The Second Expedition to the Philippines. — The facts that disaster had overwhelmed so many, that two oceans must be crossed, and that no sailing-route from Asia back to America was known, did not deter the Spaniards from their perilous conquests; and in 1542 another expedition sailed from Mexico, under command of Lopez de Villalobos, to explore the Philippines and if possible to reach China.

Across the Pacific they made a safe and pleasant voyage. In the warm waters of the Pacific they sailed among those wonderful coral atolls, rings of low shore, decked with palms, grouped in beautiful archipelagoes, whose appearance has never failed to delight the navigator, and whose composition is one of the most interesting subjects known to students of the earth's structure and history. Some of these many islands Villalobos took possession of in the name of Spain. These were perhaps the Pelew Islands or the Carolines.

At last Villalobos reached the east coast of Mindanao, but after some deaths and sickness they sailed again and

were carried south by the monsoon to the little island of Sarangani, south of the southern peninsula of Mindanao. The natives were hostile, but the Spaniards drove them from their stronghold and made some captures of musk, amber, oil, and gold-dust. In need of provisions, they planted the maize, or Indian corn, the wonderful cereal of America, which yields so bounteously, and so soon after planting. Food was greatly needed by the Spaniards and was very difficult to obtain.

The Naming of the Islands. — Villalobos equipped a small vessel and sent it northward to try to reach Cebu. This vessel reached the coast of Samar. Villalobos gave to the island the name of Felipina, in honor of the Spanish Infante, or heir apparent, Philip, who was soon to succeed his father Charles V. as King Philip the Second of Spain. Later in his correspondence with the Portuguese Villalobos speaks of the archipelago as Las Felipinas. Although for many years the title of the Islas del Poniente continued in use, Villalobos' name of Filipinas gradually gained place and has lived.

The End of the Expedition. — While on Sarangani demands were made by the Portuguese, who claimed that Mindanao belonged with Celebes, and that the Spaniards should leave. Driven from Mindanao by lack of food and hostility of the natives, Villalobos was blown southward by storms to Gilolo. Here, after long negotiations, the Portuguese compelled him to surrender. The survivors of the expedition dispersed, some remaining in the Indies, and some eventually reaching Spain; but Villalobos, overwhelmed by discouragement, died on the island of Amboyna. The priest who ministered to him in his last hours was the famous Jesuit missionary to the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier.

Twenty-three years were to elapse after the sailing of Villalobos' fleet before another Spanish expedition should reach the Philippines. The year 1565 dates the permanent occupation of the archipelago by the Spanish.

Increase in Political Power of the Church. — Under Philip the Second, the champion of ecclesiasticism, the Spanish crown cemented the union of the monarchy with the church and devoted the resources of the empire, not only to colonial acquisition, but to combating the Protestant revolution on the one hand and heathenism on the other. The Spanish king effected so close a union of the church and state in Spain, that from this time on religious issues increasingly gained in importance, and profoundly influenced the policy and fate of the nation. The policy of Philip the Second, however, brought upon Spain the revolt of the Dutch Lowlands and the wars with England, and her struggle with these two nations drained her resources both on land and sea, and occasioned a physical and moral decline. But while Spain was constantly losing power and prestige in Europe, the king was extending his colonial domain, lending royal aid to the ambitious adventurer and to the ardent missionary friar. Spain's object being to christianize as well as to conquer, the missionary became a very important figure in the history of every colonial enterprise, and these great orders to whom missions were intrusted thus became the central institutions in the history of the Philippines.

The Rise of Monasticism. — Monasticism was introduced into Europe from the East at the very commencement of the Middle Ages. The fundamental idea of the old monasticism was retirement from human society in the belief that the world was bad and could not be bettered, and

that men could lead holier lives and better please God by forsaking secular employments and family relations, and devoting all their attention to purifying their characters. The first important order in Europe were the Benedictines, organized in the sixth century. Their rule and organization were the pattern for those that followed.

The clergy of the church were divided thus into two groups, — first, the parish priests, or ministers, who lived among the people over whom they exercised the cure of souls, and who, because they were of the people themselves and lived their lives in association with the community, were known as the "secular clergy," and second, the monks, or "regular clergy," who were so called because they lived under the "rule" of their order.

In the early part of the thirteenth century monasticism, which had waned somewhat during the preceding two centuries, received a new impetus and inspiration from the organization of new orders known as brethren or "friars." The idea underlying their organization was noble, and higher than that of the old monasticism; for it emphasized the idea of service, of ministry both to the hearts and bodies of depressed and suffering men.

The Dominicans. — The Order of Dominicans was organized by Saint Dominic, of Spain, about 1215. The primary object of its members was to defend the doctrines of the Church and, by teaching and preaching, destroy the doubts and protests which in the thirteenth century were beginning to disturb the claims of the Catholic Church and the Papacy. The Dominican friars did not live in seclusion, but traveled about, humbly clad, preaching in the villages and towns, and seeking to expose and punish the heretic. The mediæval universities, through their study of philosophy and the Roman law,

were producing a class of men disposed to hold opinions contrary to the teachings of the Church. The Dominicans realized the importance of these great centers of instruction and entered them as teachers and masters, and by the beginning of the fifteenth century had made them strongholds of conservatism and orthodoxy.

The Franciscans. — In the same epoch of revival, the Order of Franciscans was founded by Saint Francis of Assisi in Italy. The aims of this order were not only to preach and administer the sacraments, but to nurse the sick, provide for the destitute, and alleviate the dreadful misery which affected whole classes in the Middle Ages. They took vows of absolute poverty, and so humble was the garb prescribed by their rule that they went barefooted from place to place.

The Augustinian Order was given organization by Pope Alexander IV., in 1256, and still other orders followed.

The Degeneration of the Orders. — Without doubt the early ministrations of these friars were productive of great good both on the religious and humanitarian sides. But, as the orders became wealthy, the friars lost their spirituality and their lives grew vicious. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the administration of the Church throughout Europe had become so corrupt, the economic burden of the religious orders so great, and religious teaching and belief so material, that the best and noblest minds in all countries were agitating for reform.

The Reformation. — In addition to changes in church administration, many Christians were demanding a greater freedom of religious thinking and radical changes in the Church doctrine which had taken form in the Middle Ages. Thus, while all the best minds in the Church were united in seeking a reformation of character and of admin-

istration, great differences arose between them as to the possibility of change in Church doctrines. These differences accordingly separated them into two parties; the Papal party adhered strongly to the doctrine as it was then accepted, while various leaders in the north of Europe, including Martin Luther in Germany, Swingli in Switzerland, and John Calvin in France and Geneva, broke with the authority of the Pope and declared for a liberation of the individual conscience.

Upon the side of the Papacy, the Emperor Charles the Fifth threw the weight of the Spanish monarchy, and to enforce the Papal authority he attacked the German princes by force of arms. The result was a great revolt from the Roman Catholic Church, which spread all over northern Germany, a large portion of Switzerland, the lowlands of the Rhine, and England, and which included a numerous and very influential element among the French people. These countries, with the exception of France, have remained Protestant to the present day; and the great expansion of the English people in America and the East has established Protestantism in all parts of the world.

Effects of the Reformation in the Roman Catholic Church. — The reform movement, which lasted through the century, brought about a great improvement in the Roman Catholic Church. Many, who remained devoted to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, were zealous for administrative reform. A great assembly of Churchmen, the Council of Trent, for years devoted itself to legislation to correct abuses. The Inquisition was revived and put into force against Protestants, especially in the dominions of Spain, and the religious orders were reformed and stimulated to new sacrifices and great undertakings.

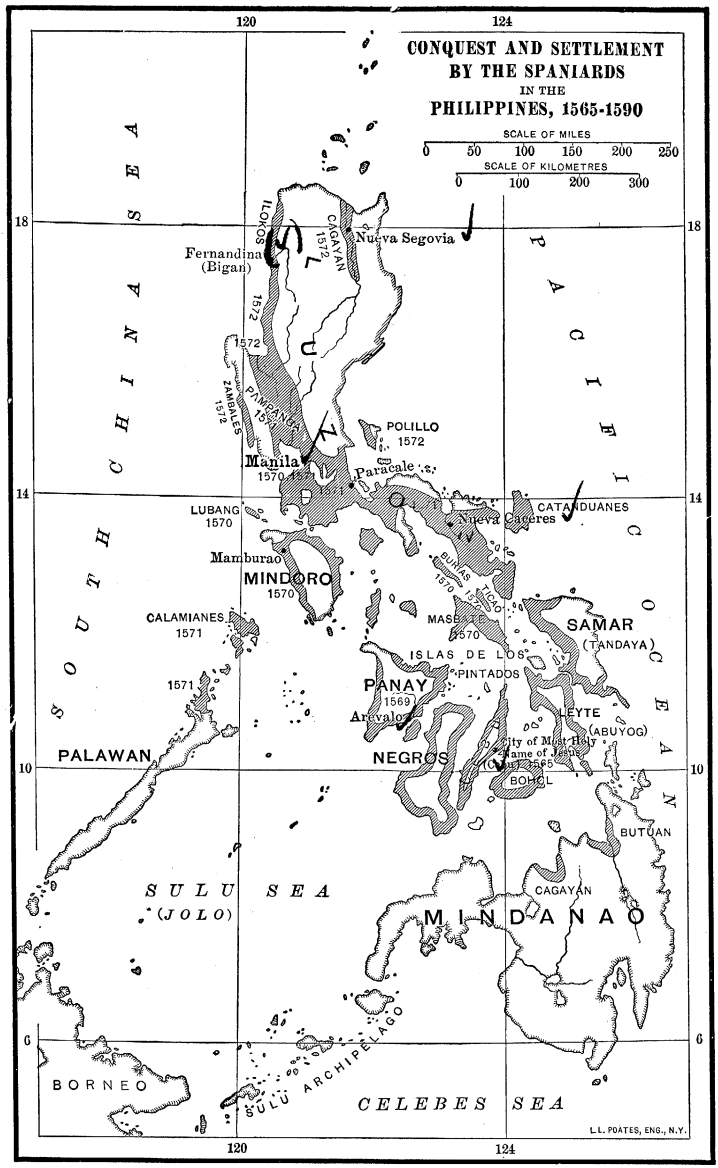
But greater, perhaps, than any of these agencies in re-

establishing the power of the Pope and reviving the life of the Roman Catholic Church was the organization of a new order, the "Society of Jesus." The founder was a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits devoted themselves especially to education and missionary activity. Their schools soon covered Europe, while their mission stations were to be found in both North and South America, India, the East Indies, China, and Japan.

The Spanish Missionary. — The Roman Catholic Church, having lost a large part of Europe, thus strove to make up the loss by gaining converts in heathen lands. Spain, being the power most rapidly advancing her conquests abroad, was the source of the most tireless missionary effort. From the time of Columbus, every fleet that sailed to gain power and lands for the Spanish kingdom carried bands of friars and churchmen to convert to Christianity the heathen peoples whom the sword of the soldier should reduce to obedience.

"The Laws of the Indies" gave special power and prominence to the priest. In these early days of Spain's colonial empire many priests were men of piety, learning, and unselfish devotion. Their efforts softened somewhat the violence and brutality that often marred the Spanish treatment of the native, and they became the civilizing agents among the peoples whom the Spanish soldiers had conquered.

In Paraguay, California, and the Philippines the power and importance of the Spanish missionary outweighed that of the soldier or governor in the settlement of those countries and the control of the native inhabitants.


CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT
BY THE SPANIARDS
IN THE
PHILIPPINES, 1565-1590
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
SCALE OF KILOMETRES
0 100 200 300
120
124
18
14
10
6
SOUTH CHINA SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ILOCOS
CAGAYAN
1572
Nueva Segovia
Fernandina
(Bigan)
1572
1572
PAMPANGA
1572
ZAMBALES
1572
LUZON
POLILLO
1572
Manila
1570
Paracale
LUBANG
1570
Nueva Cáceres
CATANDUANES
Mamburao
MINDORO
1570
BULAS
1570
TIGAO
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CALAMIANES
1571
MASBATE
1570
SAMAR
(TANDAYA)
ISLAS DE LOS
PINTADOS
1571
PANAY
1569
Arevalo
LEYTE
(ABUYOG)
City of Most Holy
Name of Jesus
(Cebu) 1565
PALAWAN
NEGROS
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BUTUAN
SULU SEA
(JOLO)
CAGAYAN
MINDANAO
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
BORNEO
CELEBES SEA
L.L. POATES, ENG., N.Y.

CHAPTER VI.

PERIOD OF CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT, 1565–1600.

Cause of Settlement and Conquest of the Philippines. — The previous Spanish expeditions whose misfortunes have been narrated, seemed to have proved to the Court of Spain that they could not drive the Portuguese from the Moluccas. But to the east of the Moluccas lay great unexplored archipelagoes, which might lie within the Spanish demarcation and which might yield spices and other valuable articles of trade; and as the Portuguese had made no effective occupation of the Philippines, the minds of Spanish conquerors turned to this group also as a coveted field of conquest, even though it was pretty well understood that they lay in the latitude of the Moluccas, and so were denied by treaty to Spain.

In 1559 the Spanish king, Felipe II., commanded the viceroy of Mexico to undertake again the discovery of the islands lying "toward the Moluccas," but the rights of Portugal to islands within her demarcation were to be respected. Five years passed before ships and equipments could be prepared, and during these years the objects of the expedition received considerable discussion and underwent some change.

The king invited Andrés de Urdaneta, who years before had been a pilot in the expedition of Loaisa, to accompany the expedition as a guide and director. Urdaneta, after his return from the previous expedition, had renounced military life and had become an Augustinian friar. He was known to be a man of wise judgment,

with good knowledge of cosmography, and as a missionary he was able to give to the expedition that religious strength which characterized all Spanish undertakings.

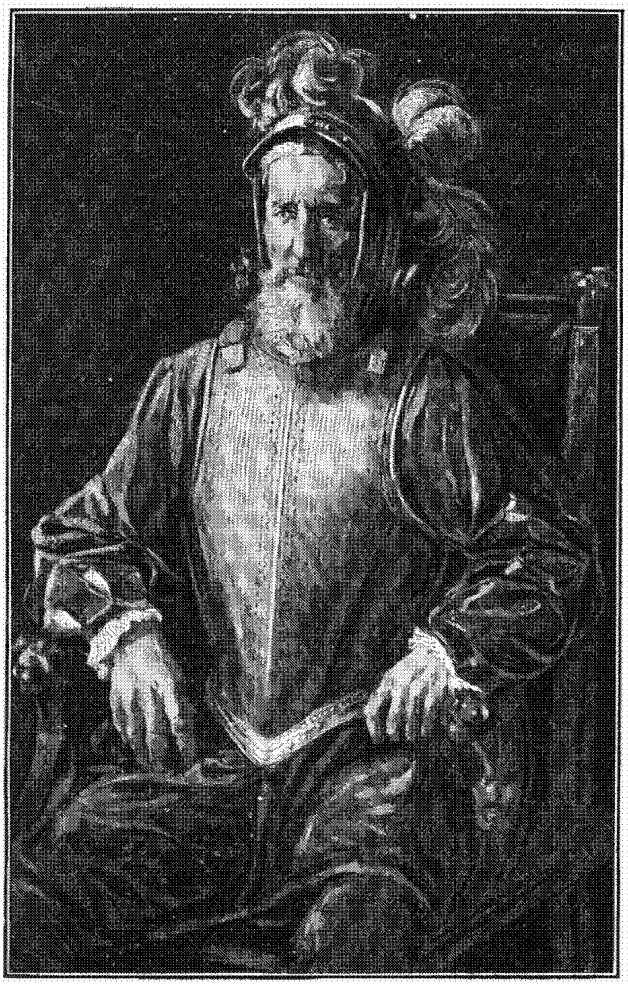
It was Urdaneta's plan to colonize, not the Philippines, but New Guinea; but the Audiencia of Mexico, which had charge of fitting out the expedition, ordered it in minute instructions to reach and if possible colonize the Philippines, to trade for spices and to discover the return sailing route back across the Pacific to New Spain. The natives of the islands were to be converted to Christianity, and missionaries were to accompany the expedition. In the quaint language of Fray Gaspar de San Augustín, there were sent "holy guides to unfurl and wave the banners of Christ, even to the remotest portions of the islands, and to drive the devil from the tyrannical possession, which he had held for so many ages, usurping to himself the adoration of those peoples." [1]

The Third Expedition to the Philippines. — The expedition sailed from the port of Natividad, Mexico, November 21, 1564, under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. The ships followed for a part of the way a course further south than was necessary, and touched at some inhabited islands of Micronesia. About the 22d of January they reached the Ladrones and had some trouble with the natives. They reached the southern end of Samar about February the 13th. Possession of Samar was taken by Legazpi in the name of the king, and small parties were sent both north and south to look for villages of the Filipinos.

A few days later they rounded the southern part of Samar, crossed the strait to the coast of southern Leyte,

[1] Fray Gaspar de San Augustín: *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, lib. I., c. 13.

where Captain Martin de Goiti discovered the town of Kabalian, and on the 5th of March the fleet sailed to this town. Provisions were scarce on the Spanish vessels, and great difficulty was experienced in getting food from the few natives met in boats or in the small settlements discovered.



Legazpi.
(From a painting by Luna, in the Malacañan palace at Manila.)

Legazpi at Bohol. — About the middle of March the fleet arrived at Bohol, doubtless the southern or eastern shore. While near here Goiti in a small boat captured a Moro prau from Borneo and after a hard fight brought back the Moros as prisoners to Legazpi. There proved to be quite a trade existing between the Moros from Borneo and the natives of Bohol and Mindanao.

Here on Bohol they were able to make friendly terms with the natives, and with Sicatuna, the dato of Bohol, Legazpi performed the ceremony of blood covenant. The Spanish leader and the Filipino chief each made a small

cut in his own arm or breast and drank the blood of the other. According to Gaspar de San Augustín, the blood was mixed with a little wine or water and drunk from a goblet.[1] This custom was the most sacred bond of friendship among the Filipinos, and friendship so pledged was usually kept with fidelity.

Legazpi in Cebu. — On the 27th of April, 1565, Legazpi's fleet reached Cebu. Here, in this beautiful strait

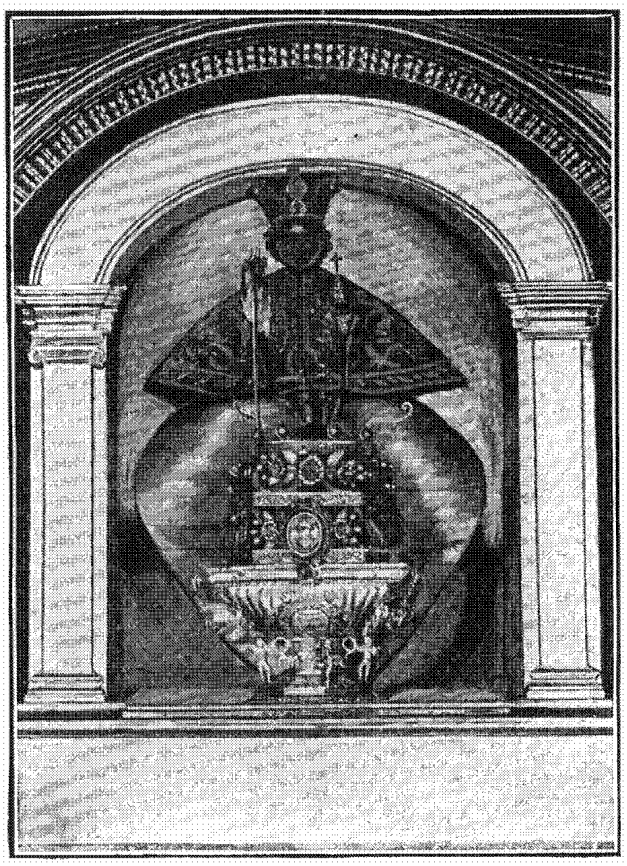
The Blood Compact.
(Painting by Juan Luna.)

and fine anchoring-ground, Magellan's ships had lingered until the death of their leader forty-four years before. A splendid native settlement lined the shore, so Father Chirino tells us, for a distance of more than a league. The natives of Cebu were fearful and greatly agitated,

[1] One of the best paintings of the Filipino artist Juan Luna, which hangs in the Ayuntamiento in Manila, represents Legazpi in the act of the "Pacto de Sangre" with this Filipino chieftain.

and seemed determined to resist the landing of the Spaniards. But at the first discharge of the guns of the ships, the natives abandoned the shore, and, setting fire to the town, retreated into the jungles and hills. Without loss of life the Spaniards landed, and occupied the harbor and town.

Finding of "the Holy Child of Cebu." — The Spanish soldiers found in one of the houses of the natives a small wooden image of the Child Jesus. A similar image, Pigafetta tells us, he himself had given to a native while in the island with Magellan. It had been preserved by the natives and was regarded by them as an object of veneration. To the pious Spaniards the discovery of this sacred object was hailed as an event of great good fortune. It was taken by the monks, and carried to a shrine especially erected for it. It still rests in the church of the Augustinians, an object of great devotion.



The Holy Child (Santo Niño) of Cebu.

Settlement made at Cebu. — In honor of this image this settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines later

received the name of "City of the Most Holy Name of Jesus." Here Legazpi established a camp, and, by great tact and skill, gradually won the confidence and friendship of the inhabitants. A formal peace was at last concluded in which the dato, Tupas, recognized the sovereignty of Spain; and the people of Cebu and the Spaniards bound themselves to assist each other against the enemies of either.

They had some difficulty in understanding one another, but the Spaniards had with them a Mohammedan Malay of Borneo, called Cid-Hamal, who had been taken from the East Indies to the Peninsula and thence to Mexico and Legazpi's expedition. The languages of Malaysia and the Philippines are so closely related that this man was able to interpret. Almost immediately, however, the missionaries began the study of the native dialect, and Padre Chirino tells us that Friar Martin Herrada made here the first Filipino vocabulary, and was soon preaching the Gospel to the natives in their own language.

Discovery of the Northern Return Route across the Pacific. — Before the arrival of the expedition in the Philippines, the captain of one of Legazpi's ships, inspired by ungenerous ambition and the hopes of getting a reward, outsailed the rest of the fleet. Having arrived first in the islands, he started at once upon the return voyage. Unlike preceding captains who had tried to return to New Spain by sailing eastward from the islands against both wind and ocean current, this captain sailed northward beyond the trades into the more favorable westerly winds, and found his way back to America and New Spain.

Legazpi's instructions required him to dispatch at least one vessel on the return voyage to New Spain soon after

arriving in the Philippines. Accordingly on June 1st the "San Pablo" set sail, carrying about two hundred men, including Urdaneta and another friar. This vessel also followed the northern route across the Pacific, and after a voyage of great hardship, occupying three and a half months, it reached the coast of North America at California and followed it southward to Acapulco.

The discovery made by these captains of a favorable route for vessels returning from the islands to New Spain safe from capture by the Portuguese, completed the plans of the Spanish for the occupation of the Philippines. In 1567 another vessel was dispatched by Legazpi and made this voyage successfully.

The sailing of the "San Pablo" left Legazpi in Cebu with a colony of only one hundred and fifty Spaniards, poorly provided with resources, to commence the conquest of the Philippines. But he kept the friendship and respect of the natives, and in 1566 and 1568 ships with reinforcements arrived from Mexico.

While Legazpi was at Panay, in 1570, there finally arrived a ship which brought instructions from the king, in reply to Legazpi's first reports, that the islands should be held and colonized. These orders appointed Legazpi adelantado and governor, and allowed the assignment of natives in encomiendas to the soldiers who had effected the conquest.

The further exploration of the islands had meanwhile proceeded.

The great difficulty experienced by Legazpi was to procure sufficient food for his expedition. At different times he sent a ship to the nearest islands, and twice his ship went south to Mindanao to procure a cargo of cinnamon to be sent back to New Spain.

Meanwhile, a captain, Enriquez de Guzmán, had discovered Masbate, Burias, and Ticao, and had landed on Luzon in the neighborhood of Albay, called then "Italon."

Thus month by month the Spaniards gained acquaintance with the beautiful island sea of the archipelago, with its green islands and brilliant sheets of water, its safe harbors and scattered settlements.

While Legazpi's resources were weakest, he was attacked and blockaded at Cebu by a Portuguese fleet which sought to prevent the Spanish occupation. Both to strengthen his position and to secure better supplies, Legazpi moved his camp in 1569 to the island of Panay. The Bisayan tribes tattooed their bodies with ornamental designs, a practice widespread throughout Oceanica, and which still is common among the tribes of northern Luzon. This practice caused the Spaniards to give to the Bisayas the title of "Islas de los Pintados" (the Islands of the Painted).

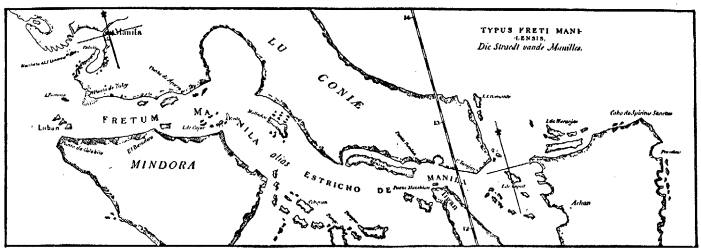
Legazpi found that the island of Mindoro had been partially settled by Moros from the south, and many of these settlements were devoted to piracy, preying especially upon the towns on the north coast of Panay. In January, 1570, Legazpi dispatched his grandson, Juan de Salcedo, to punish these marauders.[1]

Capture of Pirate Strongholds.—Salcedo had a force of forty Spaniards and a large number of Bisayas. He landed on the western coast of Mindoro and took the pirate town of Mamburao. The main stronghold of the Moros he found to be on the small island of Lubang, northwest of Mindoro. Here they had three strong forts with high walls, on which were mounted small brass cannon,

[1] There is an old account of this interesting expedition by one who participated. (*Relación de la Conquista de la Isla de Luzon*, Manila, 1572; Retana, *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, vol. IV.)

or "lantakas." Two of these forts were surrounded by moats. There were several days of fighting before Lubang was conquered. The possession of Lubang brought the Spaniards almost to the entrance of Manila Bay.

Conquest of the Moro City of Manila. — *Expedition from Panay.* — Reports had already come to Legazpi of an important Mohammedan settlement named "Maynila," on the shore of a great bay, and a Mohammedan chieftain, called Maomat, was procured to guide the Spaniards on their conquest of this region.[1] For this pur-



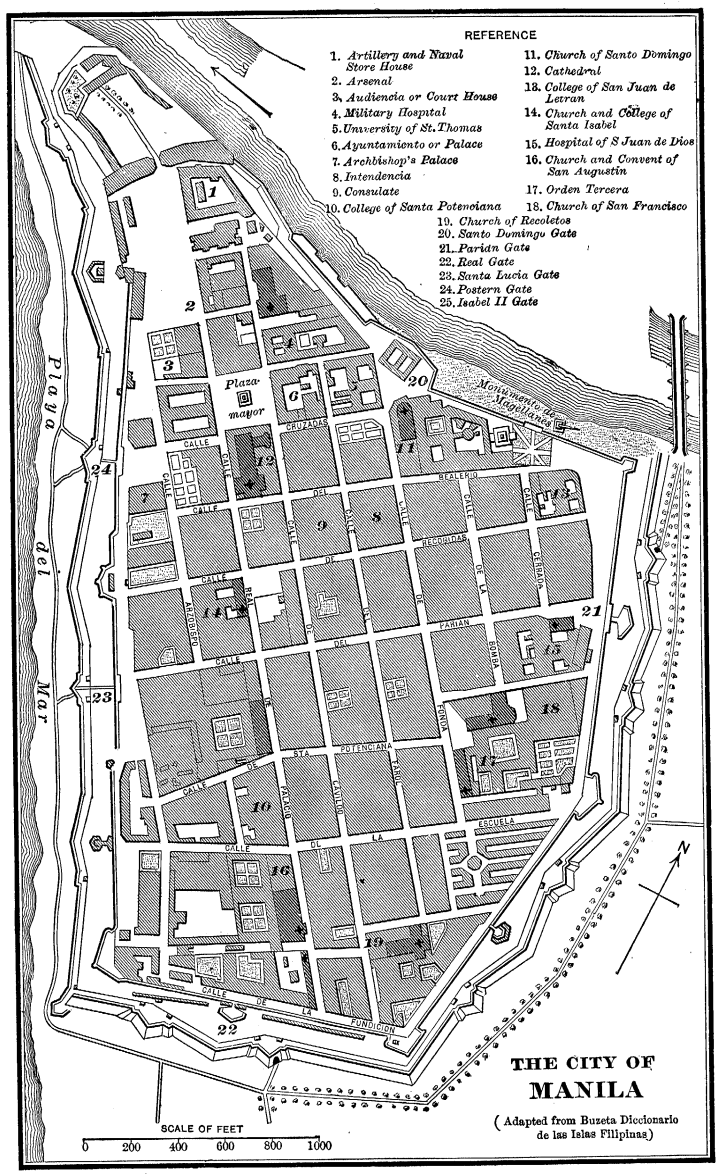
Straits of Manila.

(*From an old Dutch chart. See page* 193.)

pose Legazpi sent his field-marshal, Martin de Goiti, with Salcedo, one hundred and twenty Spanish soldiers, and fourteen or fifteen boats filled with Bisayan allies. They left Panay early in May, and, after stopping at Mindoro, came to anchor in Manila Bay, off the mouth of the Pasig River.

The Mohammedan City. — On the south bank of the river was the fortified town of the Mohammedan chieftain, Raja Soliman; on the north bank was the town of Tondo, under the Raja Alcandora, or Lacandola. Morga[2] tells us that these Mohammedan settlers from the island

[1] Morga: *Sucésos de las Islas Filipinas*, 2d ed., p. 10.
[2] *Sucésos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 316.



THE CITY OF MANILA

(Adapted from Buzeta Diccionario de las Islas Filipinas)

of Borneo had commenced to arrive on the island only a few years before the coming of the Spaniards. They had settled and married among the Filipino population already occupying Manila Bay, and had introduced some of the forms and practices of the Mohammedan religion. The city of Manila was defended by a fort, apparently on the exact site of the present fort of Santiago. It was built of the trunks of palms, and had embrasures where were mounted a considerable number of cannon, or lantakas.

Capture of the City. — The natives received the foreigners at first with a show of friendliness, but after they had landed on the banks of the Pasig, Soliman, with a large force, assaulted them. The impetuous Spaniards charged, and carried the fortifications, and the natives fled, setting fire to their settlement. When the fight was over the Spaniards found among the dead the body of a Portuguese artillerist, who had directed the defense. Doubtless he was one who had deserted from the Portuguese garrisons far south in the Indian archipelago to cast in his fortunes with the Malays. It being the commencement of the season of rains and typhoons, the Spaniards decided to defer the occupation of Manila, and, after exploring Cavite harbor, they returned to Panay.

A year was spent in strengthening their hold on the Bisayas and in arranging for their conquest of Luzon. On Masbate were placed a friar and six soldiers, so small was the number that could be spared.

Founding of the Spanish City of Manila. — With a force of 230 men Legazpi returned in the spring of 1571 to the conquest of Luzon. It was a bloodless victory. The Filipino rajas declared themselves vassals of the Spanish king, and in the months of May and June the Spaniards established themselves in the present site of the city.

At once Legazpi gave orders for the reconstruction of the fort, the building of quarters, a convent for the Augustinian monks, a church, and 150 houses. The boundaries of this city followed closely the outlines of the Tagálog city "Maynila," and it seems probable that the location of buildings then established has been adhered to until the present time. This settlement appeared so desirable to Legazpi that he at once designated it as the capital of the archipelago. Almost immediately he organized its municipal government, or ayuntamiento.

The First Battle on Manila Bay. — In spite of their ready submission, the rajas, Soliman and Lacandola, did not yield their sovereignty without a struggle. They were able to secure assistance in the Tagálog and Pampango settlements of Macabebe and Hagonoy. A great fleet of forty war-praus gathered in palm-lined estuaries on the north shore of Manila Bay, and came sweeping down the shallow coast to drive the Spaniards from the island. Against them were sent Goiti and fifty men. The protective mail armor, the heavy swords and lances, the horrible firearms, coupled with the persistent courage and fierce resolution of the Spanish soldier of the sixteenth century, swept back this native armament. The chieftain Soliman was killed.

The Conquest of Central Luzon. — Goiti continued his marching and conquering northward until the southern end of the plain of central Luzon, that stretches from Manila Bay to the Gulf of Lingayen, lay submissive before him. A little later the raja Lacandola died, having accepted Christian baptism, and the only powerful resistance on the island of Luzon was ended.

Goiti was sent back to the Bisayas, and the command of the army of Luzon fell to Salcedo, the brilliant and

daring grandson of Legazpi, at this time only twenty-two years of age. This young knight led his command up the Pasig River. Cainta and Taytay, at that time important Tagálog towns, were conquered, and then the country south of Laguna de Bay. The town of Cainta was fortified and defended by small cannon, and although Salcedo spent three days in negotiations, it was only taken by storm, in which four hundred Filipino men and women perished.[1] From here Salcedo marched over the mountains to the Pacific coast and south into the Camarines, where he discovered the gold mines of Paracale and Mambulao.

At about this time the Spaniards discovered the Cuyos and Calamianes islands and the northern part of Palawan.

Exploration of the Coast of Northern Luzon. — In 1572, Salcedo, with a force of only forty-five men, sailed northward from Manila, landed in Zambales and Pangasinan, and on the long and rich Ilokos coast effected a permanent submission of the inhabitants. He also visited the coast farther north, where the great and fertile valley of the Cagayan, the largest river of the archipelago, reaches to the sea. From here he continued his adventurous journey down the Pacific coast of Luzon to the island of Polillo, and returned by way of Laguna de Bay to Manila.

Death of Legazpi. — He arrived in September, 1572, to find that his grandfather and commander, Legazpi, had died a month before (August 20, 1572). After seven years of labor the conqueror of difficulties was dead, but almost the entire archipelago had been added to the crown of Spain. Three hundred years of Spanish dominion secured little more territory than that traversed and pacified

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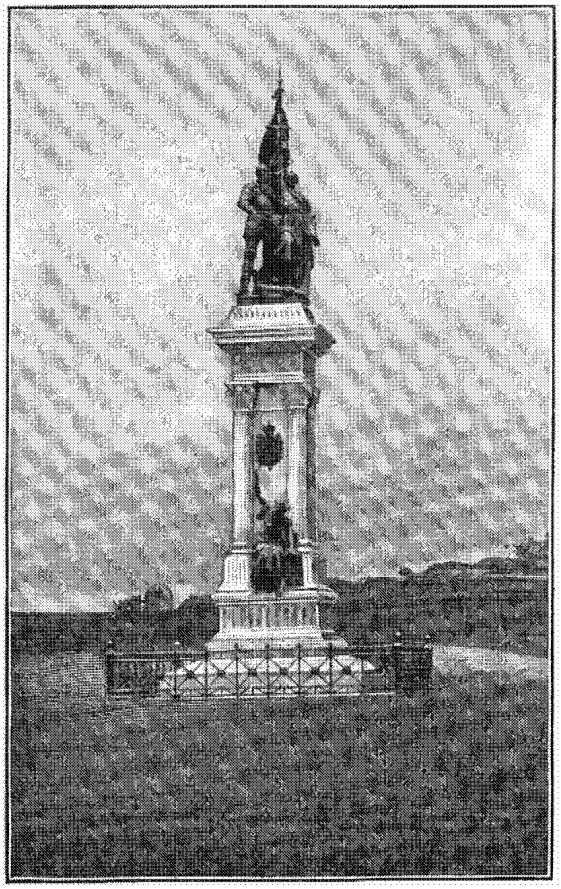
[1] *Conquista de la Isla de Luzon*, p. 24.

by the conquerors of these early years. In spite of their slender forces, the daring of the Spaniards induced them to follow a policy of widely extending their power, effecting settlements, and enforcing submission wherever rich coasts and the gathering of population attracted them. Within a single year's time most of the coast country of Luzon had been traversed, important positions seized, and the inhabitants portioned out in encomiendas. On the death of Legazpi, the command fell to Guido de Labezares.



Legazpi Monument, Luneta.

Reasons for this Easy Conquest of the Philippines. — The explanation of how so small a number of Europeans could so rapidly and successfully reduce to subjection the inhabitants of a territory like the Philippines, separated into so many different islands, is to be found in several things.

First. — The expedition had a great leader, one of those knights combining sagacity with resolution, who glorify the brief period when Spanish prestige was highest. No policy could ever be successful in the Philippines which did not depend for its strength upon giving a measure of satisfaction to the Filipino people. Legazpi did this. He

appears to have won the native datos, treating them with consideration, and holding out to them the expectations of a better and more prosperous era, which the sovereignty of the Spaniard would bring. Almost from the beginning, the natives of an island already reduced flocked to his standard to assist in the conquest of another. The small forces of the Spanish soldiers were augmented by hundreds of Filipino allies.

Second. — Another reason is found in the wonderful courage and great fighting power of the Spanish soldier. Each man, splendidly armored and weaponed, deadly with either sword or spear, carrying in addition the arquebus, the most efficient firearm of the time, was equal in combat to many natives who might press upon him with their naked bodies and inferior weapons.

Third. — Legazpi was extremely fortunate in his captains, who included such old campaigners as the field-marshal Martin de Goiti, who had been to the Philippines before with Villalobos, and such gallant youths as Salcedo, one of the most attractive military figures in all Spanish history.

Fourth. — In considering this Spanish conquest, we must understand that the islands were far more sparsely inhabited than they are to-day. The Bisayan islands, the rich Camarines, the island of Luzon, had, in Legazpi's time, only a small fraction of their present great populations. This population was not only small, but it was also extremely disunited. Not only were the great tribes separated by the differences of language, but, as we have already seen, each tiny community was practically independent, and the power of a dato very limited. There were no great princes, with large forces of fighting retainers whom they could call to arms, such as the Portu-

guese had encountered among the Malays south in the Eastern Archipelago.

Fifth. — But certainly one of the greatest factors in the yielding of the Filipino to the Spaniard was the preaching of the missionary friars. No man is so strong with an unenlightened and barbarous race as he who claims power from God. And the preaching of the Catholic faith, with its impressive and dramatic services, its holy sacraments, its power to arrest the attention and to admit at once the rude mind into the circle of its ministry, won the heart of the Filipino. Without doubt he was ready and eager for a loftier and truer religious belief and ceremonial. There was no powerful native priesthood to oppose the introduction of Christianity. The preaching of the faith and the baptism of converts proceeded as rapidly as the missionaries could be obtained.

The Dangers of the Spanish Occupation. — Such conditions promised the success of the Spanish occupation, provided the small colony could be protected from outside attacks. But even from the beginning the position of this little band of conquerors was perilous. Their numbers were small and at times much scattered, and their only source of succor lay thousands of miles away, across the greatest body of water on the earth, in a land itself a colony newly wrested from the hand of the savage. Across the narrow waters of the China Sea, only a few days' distant, even in the slow-sailing junks, lay the teeming shores of the most populous country in the world, in those days not averse to foreign conquest.

Attempt of the Chinese under Limahong to Capture Manila. — *Activity of the Southern Chinese.* — It was from the Chinese that the first heavy blow fell. The southeastern coast of China, comprising the provinces of

Kwangtung and Fukien, has always exhibited a restlessness and passion for emigration not displayed by other parts of the country. From these two provinces, through the ports of Amoy and Canton, have gone those Chinese traders and coolies to be found in every part of the East and many other countries of the world. Three hundred years before the arrival of the Spaniards, Chinese junks traversed the Philippine seas and visited regularly Luzon and the coast of Mindanao.

Limahong's Expedition to the Philippines.—This coast of China has always been notorious for its piracy. The distance of the capital at Peking and the weakness of the provincial viceroys have made impossible its suppression. It was one of these bold filibusters of the China Sea, called Limahong, who two years after the death of Legazpi attempted the conquest of the Philippines. The stronghold of this corsair was the island of Pehon, where he fortified himself and developed his power.

Here, reports of the prosperous condition of Manila reached him, and he prepared a fleet of sixty-two war-junks, with four thousand soldiers and sailors. The accounts even state that a large number of women and artisans were taken on board to form the nucleus of the settlement, as soon as the Spaniards should be destroyed. In the latter part of November, 1574, this powerful fleet came sweeping down the western coast of Luzon and on the 29th gathered in the little harbor of Mariveles, at the entrance to Manila Bay. Eight miles south of Manila is the town of Parañaque, on an estuary which affords a good landing-place for boats entering from the bay. Here on the night following, Limahong put ashore six hundred men, under one of his generals, Sioco, who was a Japanese.

The Attack upon Manila.—From here they marched

rapidly up the beach and fell furiously upon the city. Almost their first victim was the field-marshal Goiti. The fort of Manila was at this date a weak affair, without ditches or escarpment, and it was here that the struggle took place. The Spaniards, although greatly outnumbered, were able to drive back the Chinese; but they themselves lost heavily. Limahong then sent ashore heavy reinforcements, and prepared to overwhelm the garrison. The Spaniards were saved from defeat by the timely arrival of Salcedo with fifty musketeers. From his station at Bigan he had seen the sails of Limahong's fleet, cruising southward along the Luzon coast, and, suspecting that so great an expedition could have no other purpose than the capture of Manila, he embarked in seven small boats, and reached the city in six days, just in time to participate in the furious battle between the Spaniards and the entire forces of the Chinese pirate. The result was the complete defeat of the Chinese, who were driven back upon their boats.

The Result of Limahong's Expedition. — Although defeated in his attack on Manila, Limahong was yet determined on a settlement in Luzon, and, sailing northward, he landed in Pangasinan and began constructing fortifications at the mouth of the river Lingayen. The Spaniards did not wait for him to strengthen himself and to dispute with them afresh for the possession of the island, but organized in March an expedition of two hundred and fifty Spaniards and fifteen hundred Filipinos under Salcedo. They landed suddenly in the Gulf of Lingayen, burned the entire fleet of the Chinese, attacked the camp of the pirates, and killed a number of them. The rest, though hemmed in by the Spaniards, were able to construct small boats, in which they escaped from the islands.

Thus ended this formidable attack, which threatened for a time to overthrow the power of Spain in the East. It was the beginning, however, of important relations with China. Before Limahong's escape a junk arrived from the viceroy of Fukien, petitioning for the delivery of the Chinese pirate. Two Augustinian friars accompanied his junk back to China, eager for such great fields of missionary conquest. They carried letters from Labezares inviting Chinese friendship and intercourse.

Beginning of a New Period of Conquest. — In the spring of 1576, Salcedo died at Bigan, at the age of twenty-seven. With his death may be said to close the first period of the history in the Philippines, — that of the Conquest, extending from 1565 to 1576. For the next twenty-five years the ambitions of the Spaniards were not content with the exploration of this archipelago, but there were greater and more striking conquests, to which the minds of both soldier and priest aspired.

Despite the settlement with Portugal, the rich Spice Islands to the south still attracted them, and there were soon revealed the fertile coasts of Siam and Cambodia, the great empire of China, the beautiful island of Formosa, and the Japanese archipelago. These, with their great populations and wealth, were more alluring fields than the poor and sparsely populated coasts of the Philippines. So, for the next quarter of a century, the policy of the Spaniards in the Philippines was not so much to develop these islands themselves, as to make them a center for the commercial and spiritual conquest of the Orient.[1]

1575-1600

[1] See the letter of Bishop Salazar to the king, explaining his motives in coming to the Philippines. Retana, *Biblioteca Filipina*, vol. III., *Carta-Relación de las Cosas de China*, p. 4.

A Treaty with the Chinese. — The new governor arrived in the Islands in August, 1575. He was Dr. Francisco de Sande. In October there returned the ambassadors who had been sent to China by Labezares. The viceroy of Fukien had received them with much ceremony. He had not permitted the friars to remain, but had forwarded the governor's letter to the Chinese emperor. In February following came a Chinese embassy, granting a port of the empire with which the Spaniards could trade. This port, probably, was Amoy, which continued to be the chief port of communication with China to the present day.

It was undoubtedly commerce and not the missionaries that the Chinese desired. Two Augustinians attempted to return with this embassy to China, but the Chinese on leaving the harbor of Manila landed on the coast of Zambales, where they whipped the missionaries, killed their servants and interpreter, and left the friars bound to trees, whence they were rescued by a small party of Spaniards who happened to pass that way.

Sir Francis Drake's Noted Voyage. — The year 1577 is notable for the appearance in the East of the great English sea-captain, freebooter, and naval hero, Francis Drake. England and Spain, at this moment, while not actually at war, were rapidly approaching the conflict which made them for centuries traditional enemies. Spain was the champion of Roman ecclesiasticism. Her king, Philip the Second, was not only a cruel bigot, but a politician of sweeping ambition. His schemes included the conquest of France and England, the extermination of Protestantism, and the subjection of Europe to his own and the Roman authority.

The English people scented the danger from afar, and

while the two courts nominally maintained peace, the daring seamen of British Devon were quietly putting to sea in their swift, predatory vessels, for the crippling of the Spanish power. The history of naval warfare records no more reckless adventures than those of the English mariners during this period. Audacity could not rise higher.

Drake's is the most famous and romantic figure of them all. In the year 1577, he sailed from England with the avowed purpose of sweeping the Spanish Main. He passed the Straits of Magellan, and came up the western coast of South America, despoiling the Spanish shipping from Valparaiso to Panama. Thence he came on across the Pacific, touched the coast of Mindanao, and turned south to the Moluccas.

The Portuguese had nominally annexed the Moluccas in 1522, but at the time of Drake's visit they had been driven from Ternate, though still holding Tidor. Drake entered into friendly relations with the sultan of Ternate, and secured a cargo of cloves. From here he sailed boldly homeward, daring the Portuguese fleets, as he had defied the Spanish, and by way of Good Hope returned to England, his ship the first after Magellan's to circumnavigate the globe.

A Spanish Expedition to Borneo. — The appearance of Drake in the Moluccas roused Sande to ambitious action. The attraction of the southern archipelagoes was overpowering, and at this moment the opportunity seemed to open to the governor to force southward his power. One of the Malay kings of Borneo, Sirela, arrived in Manila, petitioning aid against his brother, and promising to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Spain over the kingdom of Borneo. Sande went in person to restore

this chieftain to power. He had a fleet of galleys and frigates, and, according to Padre Gaspar de San Augustín, more than fifteen hundred Filipino bowmen from Pangasinan, Cagayan, and the Bisayas accompanied the expedition. He landed on the coast of Borneo, destroyed the fleet of praus and the city of the usurper, and endeavored to secure Sirela in his principality. Sickness among his fleet and the lack of provisions forced him to return to Manila.

The First Attack upon the Moros of Jolo. — On his return he sent an officer against the island of Jolo. This officer forced the Joloanos to recognize his power, and from there he passed to the island of Mindanao, where he further enforced obedience upon the natives. This was the beginning of the Spanish expeditions against the Moros, and it had the effect of arousing in these Mohammedan pirates terrible retaliatory vengeance. Under Sande the conquest of the Camarines was completed by Captain Juan Chaves and the city of Nueva Cáceres was founded.

The Appointment of Governor Ronquillo. — It was the uniform policy of the Spanish government to limit the term of office of the governor to a short period of years. This was one of the futile provisions by which Spain attempted to control both the ambition and the avarice of her colonial captains. But Don Gonzalo Ronquillo had granted to him the governorship of the Philippines for life, on the condition of his raising and equipping a force of six hundred Spaniards, largely at his own expense, for the better protection and pacification of the archipelago. This Ronquillo did, bringing his expedition by way of Panama. He arrived in April, 1580, and although he died at the end of three years, his rule came at an important time.

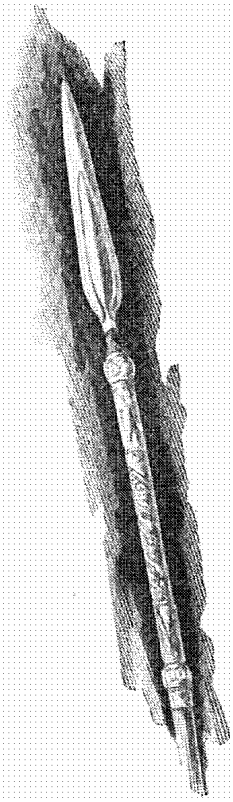
The Spanish and the Portuguese Colonies Combined. — In 1580, Philip II. conquered and annexed to Spain the kingdom of Portugal, and with Portugal came necessarily to the Spanish crown those rich eastern colonies which the valor of Da Gama and Albuquerque had won. Portugal rewon her independence in 1640, but for years Manila was the center of a colonial empire, extending from Goa in India to Formosa.

Events of Ronquillo's Rule. — Ronquillo, under orders from the crown, entered into correspondence with the captain of the Portuguese fortress on the island of Tidor, and the captain of Tidor petitioned Ronquillo for assistance in reconquering the tempting island of Ternate. Ronquillo sent south a considerable expedition, but after arriving in the Moluccas the disease of beri-beri in the Spanish camp defeated the undertaking. Ronquillo also sent a small armada to the coasts of Borneo and Malacca, where a limited amount of pepper was obtained.

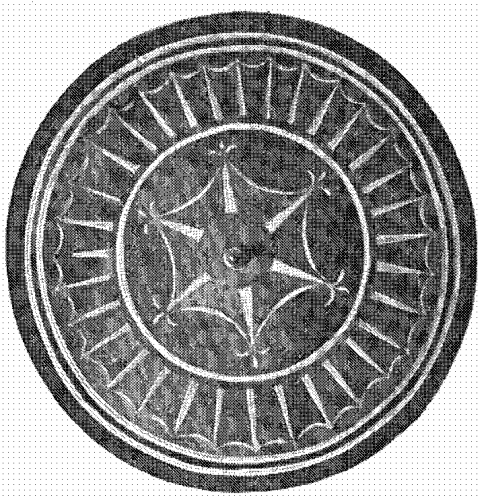
The few years of Ronquillo's reign were in other ways important. A colony of Spaniards was established at Oton, on the island of Panay, near the site of the present city of Iloilo. And under Ronquillo was pacified for the first time the great valley of the Cagayan. At the mouth of the river a Japanese adventurer, Tayfusa, or Tayzufu, had established himself and was attempting the subjugation of this important part of northern Luzon. Ronquillo sent against him Captain Carreon, who expelled the intruder and established on the present site of Lallok the city of Nueva Segovia. Two friars accompanied this expedition and the occupation of this valley by the Spaniards was made permanent.

The First Conflicts between the Church and the State. — In March, 1581, there arrived the first Bishop of Manila,

Domingo de Salazar. Almost immediately began those conflicts between the spiritual and civil authorities, and between bishop and the regular orders, which have filled to no small degree the history of the islands. The bishop was zealous for his church, a good friend of the natives, but arrogant toward civil authority. It was largely due to his protests against the autocratic power of the governor that the king was induced to appoint the first Audiencia. The character and power of these courts have already been explained. The president and judges arrived the year following the death of Ronquillo, and the president, Dr. Santiago de Vera, became acting governor during the succeeding five years.



Moro Spear.



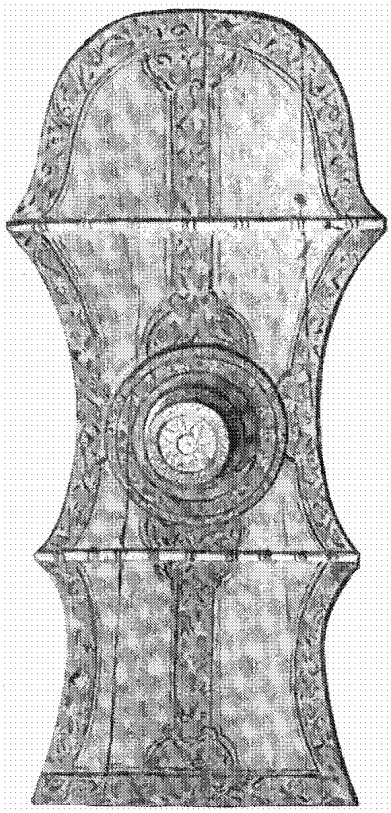
Moro Shield.

In 1587, the first Dominicans, fifteen in number, arrived, and founded their celebrated mission, La Provincia del Santisimo Rosario.

Increasing Strength of the Malays. — De Vera continued the policy of his predecessors and another fruitless attack was made on Ternate in 1585. The power of the Malay people was increasing, while that of the Europeans was decreasing. The sultans had expelled their foreign masters,

and neither Spaniard nor Portuguese were able to effect the conquest of the Moluccas. There were uprisings of the natives in Manila and in Cagayan and Ilokos. ✓ 1585

The Decree of 1589. — Affairs in the Islands did not yet, however, suit Bishop Salazar, and as the representative of both governor and bishop, the Jesuit, Alonso Sanchez, was dispatched in 1586 to lay the needs of the colony before the king. Philip was apparently impressed with the necessity of putting the government of the Islands upon a better adminstrative basis. To this end he published the important decree of 1589.



Moro Shield.

The governor now became a paid officer of the crown, at a salary of ten thousand ducats. For the proper protection of the colony and the conquest of the Moluccas, a regular force of four hundred soldiers accompanied the governor. His powers were extended to those of an actual viceregent of the king, and the Audiencia was abolished. The man selected to occupy this important post was Don Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, who arrived with the new constitution in May, 1590. So great was the chagrin of the bishop at the abolition of the Audiencia and the increase of the governor's power, that he himself set out for Spain to lay his wishes before the court.

The Missionary Efforts of the Friars. — Twenty-four

Franciscans came with Dasmariñas and the presence now of three orders necessitated the partition of the Islands among them. The keenest rivalry and emulation existed among them over the prosecution of missions in still more foreign lands. To the missionaries of this age it seemed a possible thing to convert the great and conservative nations of China and Japan to the Western religion.

In the month of Dasmariñas' arrival, a company of Dominicans attempted to found a mission in China, and, an embassy coming from Japan to demand vassalage from the Philippines, four of the newly arrived Franciscans accompanied the Japanese on their return.

A year later, in 1592, another embassy from the king of Cambodia arrived, bringing gifts that included two elephants, and petitioning for succor against the king of Siam. This was the beginning of an alliance between Cambodia and the Philippines which lasted for many years, and which occasioned frequent military aid and many efforts to convert that country.

Death of Dasmariñas. — But the center of Dasmariñas' ambitions was the effective conquest of the East Indies and the extension of Spanish power and his own rule through the Moluccas. With this end in view, for three years he made preparations. For months the shores were lined with the yards of the shipbuilders, and the great forests of Bulacan fell before the axes of the Indians. More than two hundred vessels, "galeras," "galeotas," and "virrayes," were built, and assembled at Cavite.

In the fall of 1593, the expedition, consisting of over nine hundred Spaniards, Filipino bowmen and rowers, was ready. Many of the Filipinos, procured to row these boats, were said to have been slaves, purchased through the Indian chiefs by the Spanish encomenderos. The

governor sent forward this great fleet under the command of his son, Don Luis, and in the month of October he himself set sail in a galley with Chinese rowers. But on the night of the second day, while off the island of Marikaban, the Chinese oarsmen rose against the Spaniards, of whom there were about forty on the ship, and killed almost the entire number, including the governor. They then escaped in the boat to the Ilokos coast and thence to China. The murder of this active and illustrious general was a decisive blow to the ambitious projects for the conquest of the East Indies.

Among other papers which Dasmariñas brought from Spain was a royal cédula giving him power to nominate his successor, who proved to be his son, Don Luis, who after some difficulty succeeded temporarily to his father's position.

Arrival of Morga. — In June, 1595, there arrived Don Antonio de Morga, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor with judicial powers in cases of appeal. With Morga came several Jesuit missionaries. He was also the bearer of an order granting to the Jesuits the exclusive privilege of conducting missions in China and Japan. The other orders were forbidden to pass outside the Islands.

An attempt to Colonize Mindanao. — In the year 1596, the Captain Rodriguez de Figueroa received the title of governor of Mindanao, with exclusive right to colonize the island for "the space of two lives." He left Iloilo in April with 214 Spaniards, two Jesuit priests, and many natives. They landed in the Rio Grande of Mindanao, where the defiant dato, Silonga, fortified himself and resisted them. Almost immediately Figueroa rashly ventured on shore and was killed by Moros. Reinforcements were sent under Don Juan Ronquillo, who, after nearly

bringing the datos to submission, abandoned all he had gained. The Spaniards burned their forts on the Rio Grande and retired to Caldera, near Zamboanga, where they built a presidio.

Death of Franciscans in Japan. — The new governor, Don Francisco Tello de Guzmán, arrived on June 1, 1596. He had previously been treasurer of the Casa de Contratacion in Seville. Soon after his arrival an important and serious tragedy occurred in Japan. The ship for Acapulco went ashore on the Japanese coast and its rich cargo was seized by the feudal prince where the vessel sought assistance. The Franciscans already had missions in these islands, and rivalry existed between them and the Portuguese Jesuits over this missionary field. The latter succeeded in prejudicing the Japanese court against their rivals, and when the Franciscans injudiciously pressed for the return of the property of the wrecked galleon, the feudal ruler, greedy for the rich plunder and suspicious of their preaching, met their petitions with the sentence of death. They were horribly crucified at the port of Nagasaki, February 5, 1597. This feudal lord was the proud and mighty Hidéyoshi. He was planning the conquest of the Philippines themselves, when death ended his plans.

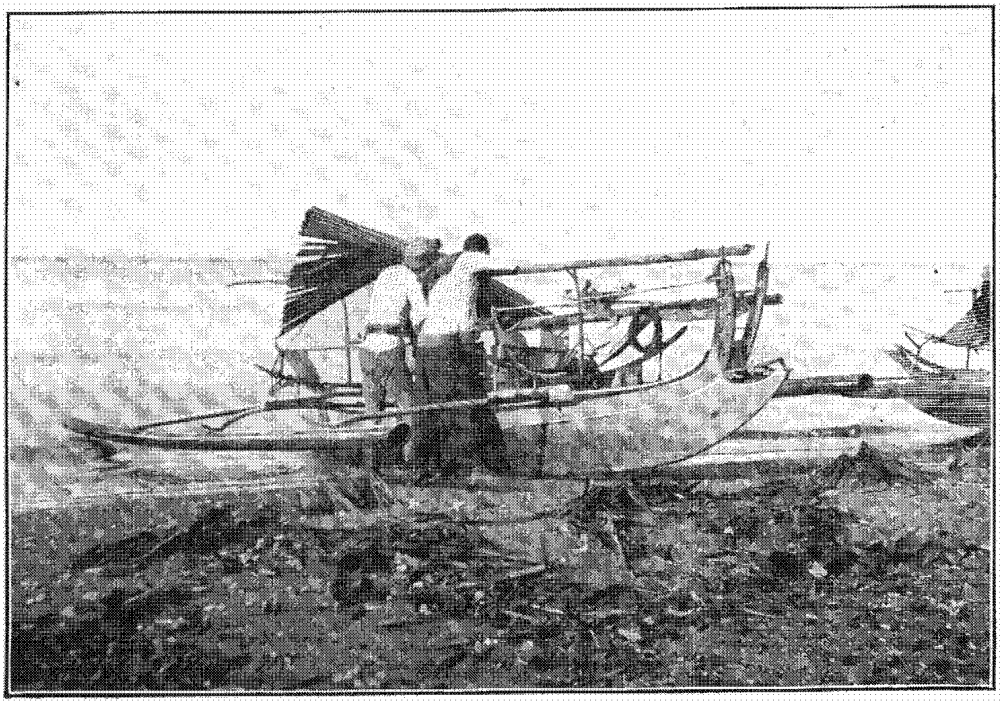
The First Archbishop in the Philippines. — Meanwhile the efforts of Salazar at the Spanish court had effected further important changes for the Islands. The reëstablishment of the Royal Audiencia was ordered, and his own position was elevated to that of archbishop, with the three episcopal sees of Ilokos, Cebu, and the Camarines. He did not live to assume this office, and the first archbishop of the Philippines was Ignacio Santibañez, who also died three months after his arrival, on May 28, 1598.

Reëstablishment of the Audiencia. — The Audiencia was reëstablished with great pomp and ceremony. The royal seal was borne on a magnificently caparisoned horse to the cathedral, where a Te Deum was chanted, and then to the Casas Reales, where was inaugurated the famous court that continued without interruption down to the end of Spanish rule. Dr. Morga was one of the first oidores, and the earliest judicial record which can now be found in the archives of this court is a sentence bearing his signature.

The Rise of Moro Piracy. — The last years of De Guzmán's governorship were filled with troubles ominous for the future of the Islands. The presidio of Caldera was destroyed by the Moros. Following this victory, in the year 1599, the Moros of Jolo and Magindanao equipped a piratical fleet of fifty caracoas, and swept the coasts of the Bisayas. Cebu, Negros, and Panay were ravaged, their towns burned, and their inhabitants carried off as slaves.

The following year saw the return of a larger and still more dreadful expedition. The people of Panay abandoned their towns and fled into the mountains, under the belief that these terrible attacks had been inspired by the Spaniards. To check these pirates, Juan Gallinato, with a force of two hundred Spaniards, was sent against Jolo, but, like so many expeditions that followed his, he accomplished nothing. The inability of the Spaniards was now revealed and the era of Moro piracy had begun. "From this time until the present day" (about the year 1800), wrote Zuñiga, "these Moros have not ceased to infest our colonies; innumerable are the Indians they have captured, the towns they have looted, the rancherias they have destroyed, the vessels they have taken. It seems as if God has preserved them for

vengeance on the Spaniards that they have not been able to subject them in two hundred years, in spite of the expeditions sent against them, the armaments sent almost very year to pursue them. In a very little while we conquered all the islands of the Philippines; but the little island of Jolo, a part of Mindanao,



Moro "Vinta."

and other islands near by we have not been able to subjugate to this day." [1]

Battle at Mariveles with the Dutch. — In October, 1600, two Dutch vessels appeared in the Islands; it was the famous expedition of the Dutch admiral, Van Noort. They had come through the Straits of Magellan, on a voyage around the world. The Dutch were in great need of provisions. As they were in their great enemy's colony, they captured and sunk several boats, Spanish and Chi-

[1] Zuñiga: *Historia de Filipinas*, pp. 195, 196.

nese, bound for Manila with rice, poultry, palm-wine, and other stores of food. At Mariveles, a Japanese vessel from Japan was overhauled. Meanwhile in Manila great excitement and activity prevailed. The Spaniards fitted up two galleons and the Oidor Morga himself took command with a large crew of fighting men.

On December 14, they attacked the Dutch, whose crews had been reduced to no more than eighty men on both ships. The vessel commanded by Morga ran down the flagship of Van Noort, and for hours the ships lay side by side while a hand-to-hand fight raged on the deck and in the hold. The ships taking fire, Morga disengaged his ship, which was so badly shattered that it sank, with great loss of life; but Morga and some others reached the little island of Fortuna. Van Noort was able to extinguish the fire on his vessel, and escape from the Islands. He eventually reached Holland. His smaller vessel was captured with its crew of thirteen men and six boys. The men were hanged at Cavite.[1]

Other Troubles of the Spanish. — In the year 1600, two ships sailed for Acapulco, but one went down off the Catanduanes and the other was shipwrecked on the Ladrones. "On top of all other misfortunes, Manila suffered, in the last months of this government, a terrible earthquake, which destroyed many houses and the church of the Jesuits."[2]

The Moros, the Dutch, anxieties and losses by sea, the visitations of God,—how much of the history of the seventeenth century in the Philippines is filled with these four things!

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[1] Both Van Noort and Morga have left us accounts of this sea-fight, the former in his journal, *Description of the Failsome Voyage Made Round the World*, and the latter in his famous, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*.

[2] Montero y Vidal: *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. I., p. 199.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PHILIPPINES THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Condition of the Archipelago at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. — *The Spanish Rule Completely Established.* — At the close of the sixteenth century the Spaniards had been in possession of the Philippines for a generation. In these thirty-five years the most striking of all the results of the long period of Spanish occupation were accomplished. The work of these first soldiers and missionaries established the limits and character of Spanish rule as it was to remain for 250 years. Into this first third of a century the Spaniard crowded all his early feats of arms and exploration. Thereafter, down to 1850, few new fields were explored, but all through the seventeenth century the missionaries were Christianizing the conquered peoples.

The survey of the archipelago given by Morga soon after 1600 reads like a narrative of approximately modern conditions. It reveals to us how great had been the activities of the early Spaniard and how small the achievements of his countrymen after the seventeenth century began. All of the large islands, except Palawan and the Moro country, were, in that day, under encomiendas, their inhabitants paying tributes and for the most part ready to embrace the Catholic faith.

The smaller groups and islets were almost as thoroughly exploited. Even of the little Catanduanes, lying off the Pacific coast of Luzon, Morga could say, "They are well populated with natives, — a good race, all en-

comiendas of Spaniards, with doctrine and churches. and an alcalde-mayor, who does justice among them."

The Babuyanes at the north of the archipelago were an exception. "They are not encomended, nor is tribute collected among them, nor are there Spaniards among them, because they are of little reason and politeness, and there have neither been Christians made among them nor have they justices." In 1591, however, the Babuyanes had been given in encomienda to Esteban de la Serna and Francisco Castillo. They are put as having two thousand inhabitants and five hundred "tributantes," but all unsubdued ("todos alçados").

On some islands the hold of the Spaniards was more extensive in Morga's day than at a later time. Then the island of Mindoro was regarded as important, and in the early years and decades of Spanish power appears to have been populous along the coasts. Later it was desolated by the Moro pirates and long remained wild and almost uninhabited except by a shifting population from the mainland of Luzon, and of pirates from Sulu.

The Encomiendas. — As we have already seen, one of the vessels that followed the expedition of Legazpi brought orders from the king that the Islands should be divided in encomiendas among those who had conquered and won them.[1] On this instruction, Legazpi had given the Filipinos in encomienda to his captains and soldiers as fast as the conquest proceeded.

We are fortunate to have a review of these encomiendas, made in 1591, about twenty years after the system was introduced into the Islands.[2] There were then 267

[1] *Relación de la Conquista de Luzon*, 1572, p. 15.

[2] *Relación de las Encomiendas, existentes en Filipinas*, Retana. *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, vol. IV.

encomiendas in the Philippines, of which thirty-one were of the king, and the remainder of private persons.

Population under the Encomiendas.—From the enumeration of these encomiendas, we learn that the most populous parts of the archipelago were La Laguna, with 24,000 tributantes and 97,000 inhabitants, and the Camarines, which included all the Bikol territory, and the Catanduanes, where there were 21,670 tributantes and a population of over 86,000; the vicinity of Manila and Tondo, which included Cavite and Marigondon, the south shore of the bay, and Pasig and Taguig, where were collected 9,410 tributes, from a population estimated at about 30,000. In Ilokos were reported 17,130 tributes and 78,520 souls.

The entire valley of the Cagayan had been divided among the soldiers of the command which had effected the conquest. In the list of encomiendas a few can be recognized, such as Yguig and Tuguegarao, but most of the names are not to be found on maps of to-day. Most of the inhabitants were reported to be "rebellious" (alçados) and some were apparently the same wild tribes which still occupy all of this water-shed, except the very banks of the river; but none the less had the Spaniards divided them off into "repartimentos." One soldier had even taken as an encomienda the inhabitants of the upper waters of the river, a region which is called in the *Relación* "Pugao," with little doubt the habitat of the same Igorot tribe as the Ipugao, who still dwell in these mountains. The upper valley of the Magat, or Nueva Vizcaya, had not at this date been occupied and probably was not until the missions of the eighteenth century.

The population among the Bisayan islands was quite surprisingly small, considering its present proportions.

Masbate, for example, had but 1,600 souls; Burias, a like number; the whole central group, leaving out Panay, only 15,833 tributes, or about 35,000 souls. There was a single encomienda in Butuan, Mindanao, and another on the Caraga coast. There were a thousand tributes collected in the encomienda of Cuyo, and fifteen hundred in Calamianes, which, says the *Relación*, included "los negrillos," probably the mixed Negrito population of northern Palawan.

The entire population under encomiendas is set down as 166,903 tributes, or 667,612 souls. This *Relación* is one of the earliest enumerations of the population of the Philippines. Barring the Igorots of northern Luzon and the Moros and other tribes of Mindanao, it is a fair estimate of the number of the Filipino people three hundred years ago.

It will be noticed that the numbers assigned to single encomenderos in the Philippines were large. In America the number was limited. As early as 1512, King Ferdinand had forbidden any single person, of whatever rank or grade, to hold more than three hundred Indians on one island.[1] But in the Philippines, a thousand or twelve hundred "tributantes" were frequently held by a single Spaniard.

Condition of the Filipinos under the Encomiendas.—Frequent Revolts.—That the Filipinos on many of these islands bitterly resented their condition is evidenced by the frequent uprisings and rebellions. The encomenderos were often extortionate and cruel, and absolutely heedless of the restrictions and obligations imposed upon them by the Laws of the Indies. Occasionally a new governor,

[1] *Ordenanzas . . . para la Reparticion de los Indios de la Isla Española*, in *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. I., p. 236.

under the first impulse of instructions from Mexico or Spain, did something to correct abuses. Revolts were almost continuous during the year 1583, and the condition of the natives very bad, many encomenderos regarding them and treating them almost as slaves, and keeping them at labor to the destruction of their own crops and the misery of their families. Gov. Santiago de Vera reached the Islands the following year and made a characteristic attempt to improve the system, which is thus related by Zuñiga: —

"As soon as he had taken possession of the government, he studied to put into effect the orders which he brought from the king, to punish certain encomenderos, who had abused the favor they had received in being given encomiendas, whereby he deposed Bartolomé de Ledesma, encomendero of Abuyo (Leyte), and others of those most culpable, and punished the others in proportion to the offenses which they had committed, and which had been proven.

"In the following year of 1585, he sent Juan de Morones and Pablo de Lima, with a well equipped squadron, to the Moluccas, which adventure was as unfortunate as those that had preceded it, and they returned to Manila without having been able to take the fortress of Ternate. The governor felt it very deeply that the expedition had failed, and wished to send another armada in accordance with the orders which the king had given him; but he could not execute this because the troops from New Spain did not arrive, and because of the Indians, who lost no occasion which presented itself to shake off the yoke of the Spaniards.

"The Pampangos and many inhabitants of Manila confederated with the Moros of Borneo, who had come for

trade, and plotted to enter the city by night, set it on fire, and, in the confusion of the conflagration, slay all the Spaniards. This conspiracy was discovered through an Indian woman, who was married to a Spanish soldier, and measures to meet the conspiracy were taken, before the mine exploded, many being seized and suffering exemplary punishment.

"The islands of Samar, Ybabao, and Leyte were also in disturbance, and the encomendero of Dagami, pueblo of Leyte, was in peril of losing his life, because the Indians were incensed by his thievings in the collection of tribute, which was paid in wax, and which he compelled them to have weighed with a steelyard which he had made double the legal amount, and wanted to kill him. They would have done so if he had not escaped into the mountains and afterwards passed by a banka to the island of Cebu. The governor sent Captain Lorenzo de la Mota to pacify these disturbances; he made some punishments, and with these everything quieted down."[1]

Three years later, however, the natives of Leyte were again in revolt. In 1589 Cagayan rose and killed many Spaniards. The revolt seems to have spread from here to the town of Dingras, Ilokos, where the natives rose against the collectors of tribute, and slew six Spaniards of the pueblo of Fernandina.[2]

Effects of the Spanish Government. — The Spanish occupation had brought ruin and misery to some parts of

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[1] *Historia de Filipinas*, p. 157, et sq.

[2] Among other documents, which throw a most unfavorable light upon the condition of the Filipinos under the encomiendas, is a letter to the king from Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop of the Philippines, which describes the conditions about 1583. (Zuñiga, *Historia de Filipinas*, p. 165.)

the country. Salazar describes with bitterness the evil condition of the Filipinos. In the rich fields of Bulacan and Pampanga, great gangs of laborers had been impressed, felling the forests for the construction of the Spanish fleets and manning these fleets at the oars, on voyages which took them for four and six months from their homes. The governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, had forced many Indians of Pampanga into the mines of Ilokos, taking them from the sowing of their rice. Many had died in the mines and the rest returned so enfeebled that they could not plant. Hunger and famine had descended upon Pampanga, and on the encomienda of Guido de Labezares over a thousand had died from starvation.[1]

The Tribute. — The tribute was a source of abuse. Theoretically, the tax upon Indians was limited to the "tributo," the sum of eight reales (about one dollar) yearly from the heads of all families, payable either in gold or in produce of the district. But in fixing the prices of these commodities there was much extortion, the encomenderos delaying the collection of the tribute until the season of scarcity, when prices were high, but insisting then on the same amount as at harvest-time.

The principal, who occupied the place of the former dato, or "maharlika," like the gobernadorcillo of recent times, was responsible for the collecting of the tribute, and his lot seems to have been a hard one. "If they do not give as much as they ask, or do not pay for as many Indians as they say there are, they abuse the poor principal, or throw him into the pillory (cepo de cabeza), because all the encomenderos, when they go to make collections, take their pillories with them, and there they keep

[1] Domingo de Salazar, *Relación de las Cosas de las Filipinas*, 1583, p. 5, in Retana, *Archivo*, vol. III.

him and torment him, until forced to give all they ask. They are even said to take the wife and daughter of the principal, when he can not be found. Many are the principales who have died under these torments, according to reports."

Salazar further states that he has known natives to be sold into slavery, in default of tribute. Neither did they impose upon adults alone, but "they collect tribute from infants, the aged and the slaves, and many do not marry because of the tribute, and others slay their children." [1]

Scarcity of Food. — Salazar further charges that the alcaldes mayores (the alcaldes of provinces), sixteen in number, were all corrupt, and, though their salaries were small, they accumulated fortunes. For further enumeration of economic ills, Salazar details how prices had evilly increased. In the first years of Spanish occupation, food was abundant. There was no lack of rice, beans, chickens, pigs, venison, buffalo, fish, cocoanuts, bananas, and other fruits, wine and honey; and a little money bought much. A hundred gantas (about three hundred liters) of rice could then be bought for a toston (a Portuguese coin, worth about a half-peso), eight to sixteen fowls for a like amount, a fat pig for from four to six reales. In the year of his writing (about 1583), products were scarce and prices exorbitant. Rice had doubled, chickens were worth a real, a good pig six to eight pesos. Population had decreased, and whole towns were deserted, their inhabitants having fled into the hills.

General Improvement under Spanish Rule. — This is one side of the picture. It probably is overdrawn by the bishop, who was jealous of the civil authority and who began the first of those continuous clashes between the

[1] *Relación*, pp. 13, 14.

church and political power in the Philippines. Doubtless if we could see the whole character of Spanish rule in these decades, we should see that the actual condition of the Filipino had improved and his grade of culture had risen. No one can estimate the actual good that comes to a people in being brought under the power of a government able to maintain peace and dispense justice. Taxation is sometimes grievous, corruption without excuse; but almost anything is better than anarchy.

Before the coming of the Spaniards, it seems unquestionable that the Filipinos suffered greatly under two terrible grievances that inflict barbarous society, — in the first place, warfare, with its murder, pillage, and destruction, not merely between tribe and tribe, but between town and town, such as even now prevails in the wild mountains of northern Luzon, among the primitive Malayan tribes; and in the second place, the weak and poor man was at the mercy of the strong and rich.

The establishment of Spanish sovereignty had certainly mitigated, if it did not wholly remedy, these conditions. "All of these provinces," Morga could write, "are pacified and are governed from Manila, having alcaldes mayores, corregidors, and lieutenants, each one of whom governs in his district or province and dispenses justice. The chieftains (principales), who formerly held the other natives in subjection, no longer have power over them in the manner which they tyrannically employed, which is not the least benefit these natives have received in escaping from such slavery." [1]

Old Social Order of the Filipinos but Little Disturbed. — Some governors seem to have done their utmost to improve the condition of the people and to govern them

[1] *Sucésos de las Filipinas*, p. 334.

well. Santiago de Vera, as we have seen, even went so far as to commission the worthy priest, Padre Juan de Plasencia, to investigate the customs and social organization of the Filipinos, and to prepare an account of their laws, that they might be more suitably governed. This brief code — for so it is — was distributed to alcaldes, judges, and encomenderos, with orders to pattern their decisions in accordance with Filipino custom.[1]

In ordering local affairs, the Spaniards to some extent left the old social order of the Filipinos undisturbed. The several social classes were gradually suppressed, and at the head of each barrio, or small settlement, was appointed a head, or cabeza de barangay. As these barangayes were grouped into pueblos, or towns, the former datos were appointed captains and gobernadorcillos.

The Payment of Tribute. — The tribute was introduced in 1570.[2] It was supposed to be eight reales or a peso of silver for each family. Children under sixteen and adults over sixty were exempt. In 1590 the amount was raised to ten reales. To this was added a real for the church, known as "sanctorum," and, on the organization of the towns, a real for the caja de communidad or municipal treasury. Under the encomiendas the tribute was paid to the encomenderos, except on the royal encomiendas; but after several generations, as the encomiendas decreased in number, these collections went directly to the insular treasury. There was later, besides the tribute, a compulsory service of labor on roads, bridges, and public

[1] *Las Costumbres de los Tagáloes en Filipinas segun el Padre Plasencia.* Madrid, 1892.

[2] Blumentritt: *Organization Communale des Indigines des Philippines, traduis de l'Allemand,* par A. Hugot. 1881.

works, known as the "corvée," a feudal term, or perhaps more generally as the "polos y servicios." Those discharging this enforced labor were called "polistas."

Conversion of the Filipinos to Christianity. — The population was being very rapidly Christianized. All accounts agree that almost no difficulty was encountered in baptizing the more advanced tribes. "There is not in these islands a province," says Morga, "which resists conversion and does not desire it." [1] Indeed, the Islands seem to have been ripe for the preaching of a higher faith, either Christian or Mohammedan. For a time these two great religions struggled together in the vicinity of Manila,[2] but at the end of three decades Spanish power and religion were alike established. Conversion was delayed ordinarily only by the lack of sufficient numbers of priests. We have seen that this conversion of the people was the work of the missionary friars. In 1591 there were 140 in the Islands, but the *Relación de las Encomiendas* calls for 160 more to properly supply the peoples which had been laid under tribute.

Coming of the Missionaries. — The Augustinians had been the pioneer order, a few accompanying Legazpi. The first company of Franciscans arrived in 1577. The first Jesuits, padres Antonio Sedeño and Alonzo Sanchez, had come with the bishop of the Islands, Domingo de Salazar, in 1581. They came apparently without resources. Even their garments brought from Mexico had rotted on the voyage. They found a little, poor, narrow house in a suburb of Manila, called Laguio (probably Concepcion). "So poorly furnished was it," says Chirino, "that the same chest which held their books was the table on which

[1] *Sucésos de las Filipinas*, p. 332.
[2] See Salazar's relation on this point.

they ate. Their food for many days was rice, cooked in water, without salt or oil or fish or meat or even an egg, or anything else except that sometimes as a regalo they enjoyed some salt sardines." [1] Dominicans came in 1587, and finally in 1606 the Recollects, or unshod Augustinians. Before the end of the century there were over four hundred.

Division of the Archipelago among the Religious Orders. — The archipelago was districted among these missionary bands. The Augustinians had many parishes in the Bisayas, on the Ilokano coast, some in Pangasinan, and all of those in Pampanga. The Dominicans had parts of Pangasinan and all of the valley of Cagayan. The Franciscans occupied the Camarines and nearly all of southern Luzon, and the region of Laguna de Bay. All of these orders had convents and monasteries both in the city of Manila and in the country round about. The imposing churches of brick and stone, which now characterize nearly every pueblo, had not in those early decades been erected; but Morga tells us that "the churches and monasteries were of wood, and well built, with furniture and beautiful ornaments, complete service, crosses, candlesticks, and chalices of silver and gold." [2]

The First Schools. — Even in these early years there seem to have been some attempts at the education of the natives. The friars had schools in reading and writing for boys, who were also taught to serve in the church, to sing, to play the organ, the harp, guitar, and other instruments. We must remember, however, that the Filipino before the arrival of the Spaniard had a written language, and even in pre-Spanish times there must have been instruction given to the child. The type of humble school,

[1] Chirino: *Relación*, pp. 19, 20.
[2] Morga, p. 329.

that is found to-day in remote barrios, conducted by an old man or woman, on the floor or in the yard of a home, where the ordinary family occupations are proceeding, probably does not owe its origin to the Spaniards, but dates from a period before their arrival. The higher education established by the Spaniards appears to have been exclusively for the children of Spaniards. In 1601 the Jesuits, pioneers of the Roman Catholic orders in education, established the College of San José.

Establishment of Hospitals. — The city early had notable foundations of charity. The high mortality which visited the Spaniards in these islands and the frequency of diseases early called for the establishment of institutions for the orphan and the invalid. In Morga's time there were the orphanages of San Andres and Santa Potenciana. There was the Royal Hospital, in charge of three Franciscans, which burned in the conflagration of 1603, but was reconstructed. There was also a Hospital of Mercy, in charge of Sisters of Charity from Lisbon and the Portuguese possessions of India.

Close by the Monastery of Saint Francis stood then, where it stands to-day, the hospital for natives, San Juan de Dios. It was of royal patronage, but founded by a friar of the Franciscan order, Juan Clemente. "Here," says Morga, "are cured a great number of natives of all kinds of sicknesses, with much charity and care. It has a good house and offices of stone, and is administered by the barefooted religious of Saint Francis. Three priests are there and four lay-brethren of exemplary life, who, with the doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries, are so dexterous and skilled that they work with their hands marvelous cures, both in medicine and surgery." [1]

[1] *Sucésos de las Filipinas*, p. 323.

Mortality among the Spaniards. — Mortality in the Philippines in these years of conquest was frightfully high. The waste of life in her colonial adventures, indeed, drained Spain of her best and most vigorous manhood. In the famous old English collection of voyages, published by Hakluyt in 1598, there is printed a captured Spanish letter of the famous sea-captain, Sebastian Biscaino, on the Philippine trade. Biscaino grieves over the loss of life which had accompanied the conquest of the Philippines, and the treacherous climate of the tropics. "The country is very unwholesome for us Spaniards. For within these 20 years, of 14,000 which have gone to the Philippines, there are 13,000 of them dead, and not past 1,000 of them left alive." [1]

The Spanish Population. — The Spanish population of the Islands was always small, — at the beginning of the seventeenth century certainly not more than two thousand, and probably less later in the century. Morga divides them into five classes: the prelates and ecclesiastics; the encomenderos, colonizers, and conquerors; soldiers and officers of war and marine; merchants and men of business; and the officers of his Majesty's government. "Very few are living now," he says, "of those first conquistadores who won the land and effected the conquest with the Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi." [2]

The Largest Cities. — Most of this Spanish population dwelt in Manila or in the five other cities which the Span-

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[1] *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, . . . by Richard Hakluyt, Master of Artes and sometime Student of Christ Church in Oxford. Imprinted at London,* 1598. Vol. I., p. 560.

[2] *Sucésos de las Filipinas,* p. 347.

iards had founded in the first three decades of their occupation. These were as follows: —

The City of Nueva Segovia, at the mouth of the Cagayan, was founded in the governorship of Ronquillo, when the valley of the Cagayan was first occupied and the Japanese colonists, who had settled there, were expelled. It had at the beginning of the seventeenth century two hundred Spaniards, living in houses of wood. There was a fort of stone, where some artillery was mounted. Besides the two hundred Spanish inhabitants there were one hundred regular Spanish soldiers, with their officers and the alcalde mayor of the province. Nueva Segovia was also the seat of a bishopric which included all northern Luzon. The importance of the then promising city has long ago disappeared, and the pueblo of Lallok, which marks its site, is an insignificant native town.

The City of Nueva Cáceres, in the Camarines, was founded by Governor Sande. It, too, was the seat of a bishopric, and had one hundred Spanish inhabitants.

The Cities of Cebu and Iloilo. — In the Bisayas were the Cities of the Holy Name of God (Cebu), and on the island of Panay, Arévalo (or Iloilo). The first maintained something of the importance attaching to the first Spanish settlement. It had its stone fort and was also the seat of a bishopric. It was visited by trading-vessels from the Moluccas, and by permit of the king enjoyed for a time the unusual privilege of sending annually a ship loaded with merchandise to New Spain. Arévalo had about eighty Spanish inhabitants, and a monastery of the Augustinians.

The City of Fernandina, or Bigan, which Salcedo had founded, was nearly without Spanish inhabitants.

Still, it was the political center of the great Ilokano coast, and it has held this position to the present day.

Manila. — But all of these cities were far surpassed in importance by the capital on the banks of the Pasig. The wisdom of Legazpi's choice had been more than justified. Manila, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was unquestionably the most important European city of the East. As we have already seen, in 1580 Portugal had been annexed by Spain and with her had come all the Portuguese possessions in India, China, and Malaysia. After 1610, the Dutch were almost annually warring for this colonial empire, and Portugal regained her independence in 1640. But for the first few years of the seventeenth century, Manila was the political mistress of an empire that stretched from Goa to Formosa and embraced all those coveted lands which for a century and a half had been the desire of European states.

The governor of the Philippines was almost an independent king. Nominally, he was subordinate to the viceroy of Mexico, but practically he waged war, concluded peace, and received and sent embassies at his own discretion. The kingdom of Cambodia was his ally, and the states of China and Japan were his friends.

The Commercial Importance of Manila. — Manila was also the commercial center of the Far East, and the entrepôt through which the kingdoms of eastern Asia exchanged their wares. Here came great fleets of junks from China laden with stores. Morga fills nearly two pages with an enumeration of their merchandise, which included all manner of silks, brocades, furniture, pearls and gems, fruits, nuts, tame buffalo, geese, horses and mules, all kinds of animals, "even to birds in cages, some of which talk and others sing, and which they make per-

form a thousand tricks; there are innumerable other gewgaws and knickknacks, which among Spaniards are in much esteem." [1]

Each year a fleet of thirty to forty vessels sailed with the new moon in March. The voyage across the China Sea, rough with the monsoons, occupied fifteen or twenty days, and the fleet returned at the end of May or the beginning of June. Between October and March there came, each year, Japanese ships from Nagasaki which brought wheat, silks, objects of art, and weapons, and took away from Manila the raw silk of China, gold, deer horns, woods, honey, wax, palm-wine, and wine of Castile.

From Malacca and India came fleets of the Portuguese subjects of Spain, with spices, slaves, Negroes and Kafirs, and the rich productions of Bengal, India, Persia, and Turkey. From Borneo, too, came the smaller craft of the Malays, who from their boats sold the fine palm mats, the best of which still come from Cagayan de Sulu and Borneo, slaves, sago, water-pots and glazed earthenware, black and fine. From Siam and Cambodia also, but less often, there came trading-ships. Manila was thus a great emporium for all the countries of the East, the trade of which seems to have been conducted largely by and through the merchants of Manila.

Trade with Mexico and Spain Restricted. — The commerce between the Philippines, and Mexico and Spain, though it had vast possibilities, was limited by action of the crown. The trade with China apparently admitted of infinite expansion, but the shortsighted merchants and manufacturers of the Peninsula clamored against its development, and it was subjected to the severest limitations. Four large galleons were at first main-

[1] *Sucésos de las Filipinas*, p. 352.

tained for this trade, which were dispatched two at a time in successive years from Manila to the port of Acapulco, Mexico. The letter on the Philippine trade, already quoted, states that these galleons were great ships of six hundred and eight hundred tons apiece.[1] They went "very strong with soldiers," and they carried the annual mail, reënforcements, and supplies of Mexican silver for trade with China, which has remained the commercial currency of the East to the present day. Later the number of galleons was reduced to one.

The Rich Cargoes of the Galleons. — The track of the Philippine galleon lay from Luzon northeastward to about the forty-second degree of latitude, where the westerly winds prevail, thence nearly straight across the ocean to Cape Mendocino in northern California, which was discovered and mapped by Biscaino in 1602. Thence the course lay down the western coast of North America nearly three thousand miles to the port of Acapulco.

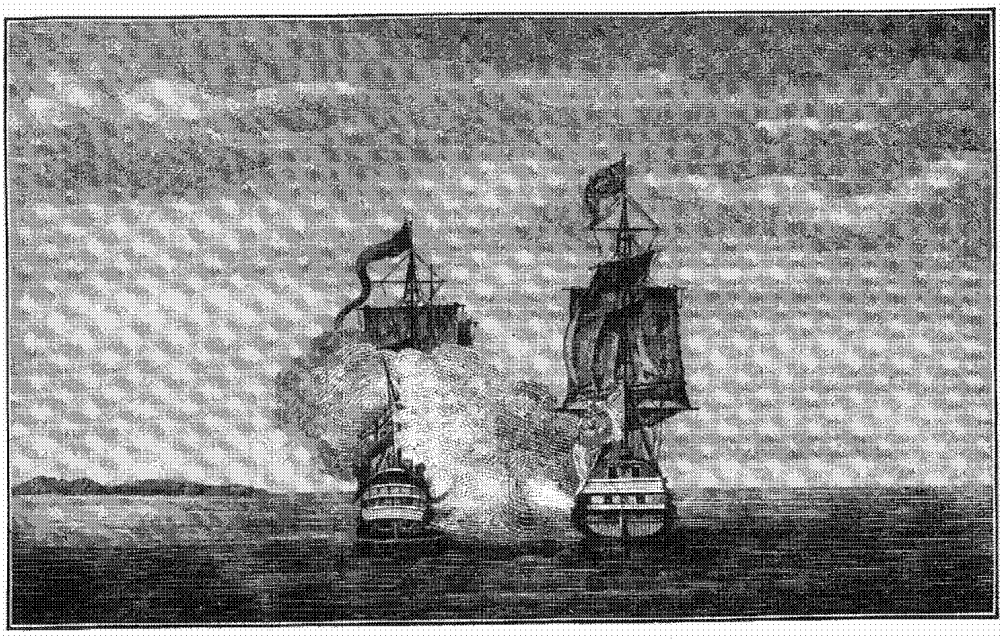
We can imagine how carefully selected and rich in quality were the merchandises with which these solitary galleons were freighted, the pick of all the rich stores which came to Manila. The profits were enormous, — six and eight hundred per cent. Biscaino wrote that with two hundred ducats invested in Spanish wares and some Flemish commodities, he made fourteen hundred ducats; but, he added, in 1588 he lost a ship, — robbed and burned by Englishmen. On the safe arrival of these ships depended how much of the fortunes of the colony!

Capture of the Galleons. — For generations these galleons were probably the most tempting and romantic prize that ever aroused the cupidity of privateer. The first to profit by this rich booty was Thomas Cavendish,

[1] Laws of the Indies, VIII., 45, 46.

who in 1587 came through the Straits of Magellan with a fleet of three vessels. Like Drake before him, he ravaged the coast of South America and then steered straight away across the sea to the Moluccas. Here he acquired information about the rich commerce of the Philippines and of the yearly voyage of the galleon. Back across the Pacific went the fleet of Cavendish for the coast of California.

In his own narrative he tells how he beat up and



Capture of the Galleon "Cabadonga," off the Coast of Samar.

(From a print in Anson's Voyage Around the World.)

down between Capes San Lucas and Mendocino until the galleon, heavy with her riches, appeared. She fell into his hands almost without a fray. She carried one hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos of gold and a great and rich store of satins, damask, and musk. Cavendish landed the Spanish on the California coast, burned the "Santa Ana," and then returned to the Philippines and made an attack upon the shipyard of Iloilo, but was re-

pulsed. He sent a letter to the governor at Manila, boasting of his capture, and then sailed for the Cape of Good Hope and home.

There is an old story that tells how his seaworn ships came up the Thames, their masts hung with silk and damask sails. From this time on the venture was less safe. In 1588 there came to Spain the overwhelming disaster of her history, — the destruction of the Great Armada. From this date her power was gone, and her name was no longer a terror on the seas. English freebooters controlled the oceans, and in 1610 the Dutch appeared in the East, never to withdraw.

The City of Manila Three Hundred Years Ago. — We can hardly close this chapter without some further reference to the city of Manila as it appeared three hundred years ago. Morga has fortunately left us a detailed description from which the following points in the main are drawn. As we have already seen, Legazpi had laid out the city on the blackened site of the town and fortress of the Mohammedan prince, which had been destroyed in the struggle for occupation. He gave it the same extent and dimensions that it possesses to this day.

Like other colonial capitals in the Far East, it was primarily a citadel and refuge from attack. On the point between the sea and the river Legazpi had begun the famous and permanent fortress of Santiago. In the time of the great adelantado it was probably only a wooden stockade, but under the governor Santiago de Vera it was built up of stone. Cavendish (1587) describes Manila as "an unwalled town and of no great strength," but under the improvements and completions made by Dasmariñas about 1590 it assumed much of its present appearance. Its guns thoroughly commanded the entrance

to the river Pasig and made the approach of hostile boats from the harbor side impossible.

It is noteworthy, then, that all the assaults that have been made upon the city, from that of Limahong, to those of the British in 1762, and of the Americans in 1898, have been directed against the southern wall by an advance from Malate. Dasmariñas also inclosed the city with a stone wall, the base from which the present noble rampart has arisen. It had originally a width of from seven and a half to nine feet. Of its height no figure is given. Morga says simply that with its buttresses and turrets it was sufficiently high for the purposes of defense.

The Old Fort. — There was a stone fort on the south side facing Ermita, known as the Fortress of Our Lady of Guidance; and there were two or more bastions, each with six pieces of artillery, — St. Andrew's, now a powder magazine at the southeast corner, and St. Gabriel's, overlooking the Parian district, where the Chinese were settled.

The three principal gates to the city, with the smaller wickets and posterns, which opened on the river and sea, were regularly closed at night by the guard which made the rounds. At each gate and wicket was a permanent post of soldiers and artillerists.

The Plaza de Armas adjacent to the fort had its arsenal, stores, powder-works, and a foundry for the casting of guns and artillery. The foundry, when established by Ronquillo, was in charge of a Pampangan Indian called Pandapira.

The Spanish Buildings of the City. — The buildings of the city, especially the Casas Reales and the churches and monasteries, had been durably erected of stone. Chirino claims that the hewing of stone, the burning of lime, and

the training of native and Chinese artisans for this building, were the work of the Jesuit father, Sedeño. He himself fashioned the first clay tiles and built the first stone house, and so urged and encouraged others, himself directing, the building of public works, that the city, which a little before had been solely of timber and cane, had become one of the best constructed and most beautiful in the Indies.[1] He it was also who sought out Chinese painters and decorators and ornamented the churches with images and paintings.

Within the walls, there were some six hundred houses of a private nature, most of them built of stone and tile, and an equal number outside in the suburbs, or "arrabales," all occupied by Spaniards ("todos son vivienda y poblacion de los Españoles").[2]

This gives some twelve hundred Spanish families or establishments, exclusive of the religious, who in Manila numbered at least one hundred and fifty,[3] the garrison, at certain times, about four hundred trained Spanish soldiers who had seen service in Holland and the Low Countries, and the official classes.

The Malecon and the Luneta. — It is interesting at this early date to find mention of the famous recreation drive, the Paseo de Bagumbayan, now commonly known as the Malecon and Luneta. "Manila," says our historian, "has two places of recreation on land; the one, which is clean and wide, extends from the point called Our Lady of Guidance for about a league along the sea, and through the street and village of natives, called Bagumbayan, to

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[1] *Relación de las Islas Filipinas,* chap. V., p. 23, and chap. XIII., p. 47.

[2] Morga, *Sucésos de las Islas Filipinas,* p. 323.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 321.

a very devout hermitage (Ermita), called the Hermitage of Our Lady of Guidance, and from there a good distance to a monastery and mission (doctrina) of the Augustinians, called Mahalat (Malate)."[1] The other drive lay out through the present suburb of Concepcion, then called Laguio, to Paco, where was a monastery of the Franciscans.

The Chinese in Manila. — *Early Chinese Commerce.* — We have seen that even as long ago as three hundred years Manila was a metropolis of the Eastern world. Vessels from many lands dropped anchor at the mouth of the Pasig, and their merchants set up their booths within her markets. Slaves from far-distant India and Africa were sold under her walls. Surely it was a cosmopolitan population that the shifting monsoons carried to and from her gates.

But of all these Eastern races only one has been a constant and important factor in the life of the Islands. This is the Chinese. It does not appear that they settled in the country or materially affected the life of the Filipinos until the establishment of Manila by the Spaniards. The Spaniards were early desirous of cultivating friendly relations with the Empire of China. Salcedo, on his first punitive expedition to Mindoro, had found a Chinese junk, which had gone ashore on the western coast. He was careful to rescue these voyagers and return them to their own land, with a friendly message inviting trading relations. Commerce and immigration followed immediately the founding of the city.

The Chinese are without question the most remarkable colonizers in the world. They seem able to thrive in any climate. They readily marry with every race. The

[1] Morga: *Sucésos*, p. 324.

children that follow such unions are not only numerous but healthy and intelligent. The coasts of China teem with overcrowding populations. Emigration to almost any land means improvement of the Chinese of poor birth. These qualities and conditions, with their keen sense for trade and their indifference to physical hardship and danger, make the Chinese almost a dominant factor wherever political barriers have not been raised against their entrance.

The Chinese had early gained an important place in the commercial and industrial life of Manila. A letter to the king from Bishop Salazar shows that he befriended them and was warm in their praise.[1] This was in 1590, and there were then in Manila and Tondo about seven thousand resident Chinese, and they were indispensable to the prosperity of the city.

Importance of Chinese Labor and Trade. — In the early decades of Spanish rule, the Philippines were poor in resources and the population was sparse, quite insufficient for the purposes of the Spanish colonizers. Thus the early development of the colony was based upon Chinese labor and Chinese trade. As the early writers are fond of emphasizing, from China came not only the finished silks and costly wares, which in large part were destined for the trade to New Spain and Europe, but also cattle, horses and mares, foodstuffs, metals, fruits, and even ink and paper. "And what is more," says Chirino, "from China come those who supply every sort of service, all dexterous, prompt, and cheap, from physicians and barbers to burden-bearers and porters. They are the tailors and shoemakers, metal-workers, silversmiths, sculptors, locksmiths, paint-

[1] *Carta Relación de las Cosas de la China y de los Chinos del Parian de Manila,* 1590; in Retana, *Archivo,* vol. III.

ers, masons, weavers, and finally every kind of servitors in the commonwealth."[1]

Distrust of the Chinese. — In those days, not only were the Chinese artisans and traders, but they were also farmers and fishermen, — occupations in which they are now not often seen. But in spite of their economic necessity, the Chinese were always looked upon with disfavor and their presence with dread. Plots of murder and insurrection were supposedly rife among them. Writers object that their numbers were so great that there was no security in the land; their life was bad and vicious; through intercourse with them the natives advanced but little in Christianity and customs; they were such terrible eaters that they made foods scarce and prices high.

If permitted, they went everywhere through the Islands and committed a thousand abuses and offenses. They explored every spot, river, estero, and harbor, and knew the country better even than the Spaniard himself, so that if any enemy should come they would be able to cause infinite mischief.[2] When we find so just and high-minded a man as the president of the Audiencia, Morga, giving voice to such charges, we may be sure that the feeling was deep and ominous, and practically universal among all Spanish inhabitants.

The First Massacre of the Chinese. — Each race feared and suspected the other, and from this mutual distrust came in 1603 a cruel outbreak and massacre. Three Chinese mandarins arrived in that year, stating that they had been sent by the emperor to investigate a report that there was a mountain in Cavite of solid precious metal.

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[1] *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 18. See also Salazar, *Carta Relación*.

[2] *Sucésos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 364.

This myth was no more absurd than many pursued by the Spaniards themselves in their early conquests, and it doubtless arose from the fact that Chinese wares were largely purchased by Mexican bullion; but the Spaniards were at once filled with suspicion of an invasion, and their distrust turned against the Chinese in the Islands.

How far these latter were actually plotting sedition and how far they were driven into attack by their fears at the conduct of the Spaniards can hardly be decided. But the fact is, that on the evening of Saint Francis day the Chinese of the Parian rose. Their banners were raised, war-gongs were beaten, and that night the pueblos of Quiapo and Tondo were burned and many Filipinos murdered.

In the morning a force of 130 Spaniards, under Don Luis Dasmariñas and Don Tomas Bravo, were sent across the river, and in the fight nearly every Spaniard was slain. The Chinese then assaulted the city, but, according to the statement of the priests, they were driven back in terror by the apparition of Saint Francis on the walls. They threw up forts on the site of the Parian and in Dilao, but the power of their wild fury was gone and the Spaniards were able to dislodge and drive them into the country about San Pablo del Monte. From here they were dispersed with great slaughter. Twenty-three thousand Chinese are reported by Zuñiga to have perished in this sedition. If his report is true, the number of Chinese in the Islands must have increased very rapidly between 1590 and 1603.

Restriction of Chinese Immigration and Travel.—Commerce and immigration began again almost immediately. The number of Chinese, however, allowed to remain was reduced. The Chinese ships that came annually to trade

were obliged to take back with them the crews and passengers which they brought. Only a limited number of merchants and artisans were permitted to live in the Islands. They were confined to three districts in the city of Manila, and to the great market, the Alcayceria or Parian.

The word "Parian" was first used for the Chinese quarter adjoining the walled city on the present site of the Botanical Garden, but about 1640 the "New Parian" was built in Binondo, about the present Calle San Fernando. It consisted of a block of stores in the form of a square, with small habitations above them. Here was the great market of Manila.

The Chinese could not travel in the Islands, nor go two leagues from the city without a written license, nor remain over night within the city after the gates were closed, on penalty of their lives. They had their own alcalde and judge, a tribunal and jail; and on the north side of the river Dominican friars, who had learned the Chinese language, had erected a mission and hospital. There was a separate barrio for the baptized Chinese and their families, to the number of about five hundred.

The Chinese in the Philippines from the earliest time to the present have been known by the name of "Sangleyes." The derivation of this curious word is uncertain; but Navarrete, who must have understood Chinese well, says that the word arose from a misapprehension of the words spoken by the Chinese who first presented themselves at Manila. "Being asked what they came for, they answered, 'Xang Lei,' that is, 'We come to trade.' The Spaniards, who understood not their language, conceiving it to be the name of a country, and putting the two words together, made one of them, by which they still distinguish the Chinese, calling them Sangleyes."

The Japanese Colony. — There was also in these early years quite a colony of Japanese. Their community lay between the Parian and the barrio of Laguio. There were about five hundred, and among them the Franciscans claimed a goodly number of converts.

The Filipino District of Tondo. — We have described at some length the city south of the river and the surrounding suburbs, most of them known by the names they hold to-day. North of the Pasig was the great district of Tondo, the center of that strong, independent Filipino feeling which at an early date was colored with Mohammedanism and to this day is strong in local feeling. This region has thriven and built up until it has long been by far the most important and populous part of the metropolis, but not until very recent times was it regarded as a part of the city of Manila, which name was reserved for the walled city alone.

A bridge across the Pasig, on the site of the present Puente de España, connected the two districts at a date later than Morga's time. It was one of the first things noticed by Navarrete, who, without describing it well, says it was very fine. It was built during the governorship of Niño de Tabora, who died in 1632.[1] Montero states that it was of stone, and that this same bridge stood for more than two centuries, resisting the incessant traffic and the strength of floods.[2]

The Decline of Manila during the Next Century. — Such was Manila thirty-five and forty years after its foundation. It was at the zenith of its importance, the capital of the eastern colonies, the mart of Asia, more splendid than Goa, more powerful than Malacca or Macao, more

[1] Zuñiga: *Historia de las Filipinas*, p. 252.
[2] *Historia General de Filipinas*, vol. I., p. 187.

populous and far more securely held than Ternate and Tidor. "Truly," exclaimed Chirino, "it is another Tyre, so magnified by Ezekiel." It owed its great place to the genius and daring of the men who founded it, to the freedom of action which it had up to this point enjoyed, and to its superlative situation.

In the years that followed we have to recount for the most part only the process of decline. Spain herself was fast on the wane. A few years later and the English had almost driven her navies from the seas, the Portuguese had regained their independence and lost empire, the Dutch were in the East, harrying Portuguese and Spaniard alike and fast monopolizing the rich trade. The commerce and friendly relations with the Chinese, on which so much depended, were broken by massacre and reprisal; and, most terrible and piteous of all, the awful wrath and lust of the Malay pirate, for decade after decade, was to be visited upon the archipelago.

The colonial policy of the mother-land, selfish, short-sighted, reactionary, was soon to make its paralyzing influence felt upon trade and administration alike. These things were growing and taking place in the next period which we have to consider, — the years from 1600 to 1663. They left the Philippines despoiled and insignificant for a whole succeeding century, a decadent colony and an exploited treasure.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DUTCH AND MORO WARS. 1600–1663.

Loss of the Naval Power of Spain and Portugal. — The seizure of Portugal by Philip II. in 1580 was disastrous in its consequences to both Portugal and Spain. For Portugal it was humiliation and loss of colonial power. Spain was unequal to the task of defending the Portuguese possessions, and her jealousy of their prosperity seems to have caused her deliberately to neglect their interests and permit their decline. In one day Portugal lost possession of that splendid and daring navy which had first found a way to the Indies. Several hundred Portuguese ships, thousands of guns, and large sums of money were appropriated by Spain upon the annexation of Portugal.[1] Many of these ill-fated ships went down in the English Channel with the Great Armada.

When the terrible news of the destruction of this powerful armament, on which rested Spanish hopes for the conquest and humiliation of England, was brought to the Escorial, the magnificent palace where the years of the king were passed, Philip II., that strange man, whose countenance seldom changed at tidings of either defeat or victory, is reported to have simply said, "I thank God that I have the power to replace the loss." He was fatuously mistaken. The loss could never be made good. The navies of Spain and Portugal were never fully rebuilt. In that year, 1588, preëminence on the sea passed to the English and the Dutch.

[1] Morris: *The History of Colonization*, vol. I., p. 215 sq.

The Netherlands Become an Independent Country. — Who were these Dutch, or Hollanders? How came they to wrest from Spain and Portugal a colonial empire, which they hold to-day without loss of prosperity or evidence of decline? In the north of Europe, facing the North Sea, is a low, rich land, intersected by rivers and washed far into its interior by the tides, known as Holland, the Low Countries, or the Netherlands. Its people have ever been famed for their industry and hardihood. In manufacture and trade in the latter Middle Age, they stood far in the lead in northern Europe. Their towns and cities were the thriftiest, most prosperous, and most cleanly.

We have already explained the curious facts of succession by which these countries became a possession of the Spanish king, Emperor Charles the Fifth. The Low Countries were always greatly prized by Charles, and in spite of the severities of his rule he held their affection and loyalty until his death. It was in the city of Brussels that he formally abdicated in favor of his son, Philip II., and, as described by contemporary historians, this solemn and imposing ceremony was witnessed with every mark of loyalty by the assembly.

The Rebellion. — But the oppressions and persecutions of Philip's reign drove the people to rebellion. The Protestant religion had been introduced into the Netherlands and when, in addition to intimidation, the quartering of Spanish soldiery, and the violation of sovereign promises, Philip imposed that terrible and merciless institution, the Spanish Inquisition, the Low Countries faced the tyrant in a passion of rebellion.

War, begun in 1567, dragged on for years. There was pitiless cruelty, and the sacking of cities was accompanied by fearful butchery. In 1579 the seven Dutch counties

effected a union and laid the basis of the republic of the Netherlands. Although the efforts of Spain to reconquer the territory continued until after the end of the century, independence was maintained for years before.

Trade between Portugal and the Netherlands Forbidden. — A large portion of the commerce of the Low Countries had been with Lisbon. The Portuguese did not distribute to Europe the products which their navies brought from the Indies. Foreign merchants purchased in Lisbon and carried these wares to other lands, and to a very large degree this service had been performed by the Dutch. But after the annexation of Portugal, Philip forbade all commerce and trade between the two countries. By this act the Dutch, deprived of their Lisbon trade, had to face the alternative of commercial ruin or the gaining of those Eastern products for themselves. They chose the latter course with all its risks. It was soon made possible by the destruction of the Armada.

The Dutch Expeditions to the Indies. — In 1595 their first expedition, led by one Cornelius Houtman, who had sailed in Portuguese galleons, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian domain. The objective point was Java, where an alliance was formed with the native princes and a cargo of pepper secured. Two things were shown by the safe return of this fleet, — the great wealth and profit of the Indian trade, and the inability of Spain and Portugal to maintain their monopoly.

In 1598 the merchants of Amsterdam defeated a combined Spanish and Portuguese fleet in the East, and trading settlements were secured in Java and Johore. In 1605 they carried their factories to Amboina and Tidor.

Effect of the Success of the Dutch. — The exclusive monopoly over the waters of the Pacific and Indian Oceans,

which Portugal and Spain had maintained for a century, was broken. With the concurrence of the Roman See, they had tried to divide the New World and the Orient between them. That effort was now passed. They had claimed the right to exclude from the vast oceans they had discovered the vessels of every other nation but their own.

This doctrine in the History of International Law is known as that of *mare clausum*, or "closed sea." The death-blow to this domination was given by the entrance of the Dutch into the Indies, and it is not a mere coincidence that we find the doctrine of closed sea itself scientifically assailed, a few years later, by the great Dutch jurist, Grotius, the founder of the system of international law, in his work, *De Libero Mare.*

The Trading Methods of the Dutch.—The Dutch made no attempts in the Indies to found great colonies for political domination and religious conversion. Commerce was their sole object. Their policy was to form alliances with native rulers, promising to assist them against the rule of the Portuguese or Spaniard in return for exclusive privileges of trade. In this they were more than successful.

In 1602 they obtained permission to establish a factory at Bantam, on the island of Java. This was even then a considerable trading-point. "Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Moors, Turks, Malabars, Peguans, and merchants from all nations were established there," the principal object of trade being pepper.[1]

The character of the treaty made by the Dutch with the king of Bantam is stated by Raffles. "The Dutch stipulated to assist him against foreign invaders, particu-

[1] Raffles: *History of Java,* vol. II., p. 116.

larly Spaniards and Portuguese; and the king, on his side, agreed to make over to the Dutch a good and strong fort, a free trade, and security for their persons and property without payment of any duties or taxes, and to allow no other European nation to trade or reside in his territories."

Spanish Expedition against the Dutch in the Moluccas. — The Spaniards, however, did not relinquish the field to these new foes without a struggle, and the conflict fills the history of the eighteenth century. When the Dutch expelled the Portuguese from Amboina and Tidor in February, 1605, many of the Portuguese came to the Philippines and enlisted in the Spanish forces. The governor, Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña, filled with wrath at the loss of these important possessions, with great activity organized an expedition for their conquest.

In the previous year there had arrived from Spain eight hundred troops, two hundred of them being native Mexicans. Thus Acuña was able to gather at Iloilo a fleet that mounted seventy-five pieces of artillery and carried over fourteen hundred Spaniards and sixteen hundred Indians.[1] The fleet sailed in January, 1606. Tidor was taken without resistance and the Dutch factory seized, with a great store of money, goods, and weapons. The Spaniards then assailed Ternate; the fort and plaza were bombarded, and then the town was carried by storm.

Thus, at last was accomplished the adventure which for nearly a century had inspired the ambitions of the Spaniards, which had drawn the fleet of Magellan, which had wrecked the expeditions of Loaisa and Villalobos, for

[1] On the history of this notable expedition see Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Molucas.* Madrid, 1609.

which the Spaniards in the Philippines had prepared expedition after expedition, and for which Governor Dasmariñas had sacrificed his life. At last the Moluccas had been taken by the forces of Spain.

Capture of a Dutch Fleet at Mariveles. — So far from disposing of their enemies, however, this action simply brought the Dutch into the Philippines. In 1609, Juan de Silva became governor of the Islands and in the same year arrived the Dutch admiral, Wittert, with a squadron. After an unsuccessful attack on Iloilo, the Dutch fleet anchored off Mariveles, to capture vessels arriving for the Manila trade.

At this place, on the 25th of April, 1610, the Spanish fleet, which had been hastily fitted at Cavite, attacked the Dutch, killing the admiral and taking all the ships but one, two hundred and fifty prisoners, and a large amount of silver and merchandise. These prisoners seem to have been treated with more mercy than the captives of Van Noort's fleet, who were hung at Cavite. The wounded are said to have been cared for, and the friars from all the religious orders vied with one another to convert these "Protestant pirates" from their heresy.

An Expedition against the Dutch in Java. — Spain made a truce of her European wars with Holland in 1609, but this cessation of hostilities was never recognized in the East. The Dutch and Spanish colonists continued to war upon and pillage each other until late in the century. Encouraged by his victory over Wittert, Silva negotiated with the Portuguese allies in Goa, India, to drive the Dutch from Java. A powerful squadron sailed from Cavite in 1616 for this purpose. It was the largest fleet which up to that date had ever been assembled in the Philippines. The expedition, however, failed to unite with

their Portuguese allies, and in April, Silva died at Malacca of malignant fever.

The Dutch Fleets. — *Battles near Corregidor.* — The fleet returned to Cavite to find that the city, while stripped of soldiers and artillery, had been in a fever of anxiety and apprehension over the proximity of Dutch vessels. They were those of Admiral Spilbergen, who had arrived by way of the Straits of Magellan and the Pacific. He has left us a chart of the San Bernardino Straits, which is reproduced on page 133. Spilbergen bombarded Iloilo and then sailed for the Moluccas.

A year later he returned, met a Spanish fleet of seven galleons and two galeras near Manila and suffered a severe defeat.[1] The battle began with cannonading on Friday, April 13, and continued throughout the day. On the following day the vessels came to close quarters, the Spaniards boarded the Dutch vessels, and the battle was fought out with the sword.

The Dutch were overwhelmed. Probably their numbers were few. The *Relación* states they had fourteen galleons, but other accounts put the number at ten, three vessels of which were destroyed or taken by the Spaniards. One of them, the beautiful ship, "The Sun of Holland," was burned. This combat is known as the battle of Playa Honda. Another engagement took place in the same waters of Corregidor, late in 1624, when a Dutch fleet was driven away without serious loss to either side.

The Dutch Capture Chinese Junks, and Galleons. — But through the intervening years, fleets of the Hollanders

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[1] An account of this victory, written the following year, *Relación Verdadera de la Grand Vittoria, que el Armada Española de la China tuuo contra los Orlandeses Pirates,* has been reprinted by Retana, *Archivo Bibliófilo Filipino,* vol. II.

were continually arriving, both by the way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. Those that came across the Pacific almost invariably cruised up the Strait of San Bernardino, securing the fresh provisions so desirable to them after their long voyage.

The prizes which they made of Chinese vessels, passing Corregidor for Manila, give us an idea of how considerably the Spaniards in the Philippines relied upon China for their food. Junks, or "champans," were continually passing Corregidor, laden with chickens, hogs, rice, sugar, and other comestibles.[1]

The Mexican galleons were frequently destroyed or captured by these lurking fleets of the Dutch, and for a time the route through the Straits of San Bernardino had to be abandoned, the galleons reaching Manila by way of Cape Engaño, or sometimes landing in Cagayan, and more than once going ashore on the Pacific side of the island, at Binangonan de Lampon.

The Dutch in Formosa. — The Dutch also made repeated efforts to wrest from Portugal her settlement and trade in China. As early as 1557 the Portuguese had established a settlement on the island of Macao, one of these numerous islets that fill the estuary of the river of Canton. This is the oldest European settlement in China and has been held continuously by the Portuguese until the present day, when it remains almost the last vestige of the once mighty Portuguese empire of the East. It was much coveted by the Dutch because of its importance in the trade with Canton and Fukien.

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[1] "Just before the naval engagement of Playa Honda, the Dutch intercepted junks on the way to Manila, bringing, amongst their cargoes of food, as many as twelve thousand capons." — Foreman: *The Philippine Islands*, p. 104.

In 1622 a fleet from Java brought siege to Macao, and, being repulsed, sailed to the Pescadores Islands, where they built a fort and established a post, which threatened both the Portuguese trade with Japan and the Manila trade with Amoy. Two years later, on the solicitation of the Chinese government, the Dutch removed their settlement to Formosa, where after some years they broke up the Spanish mission stations and gained exclusive possession of the island. Thus, throughout the century, these European powers harassed and raided one another, but no one of them was sufficiently strong to expel the others from the East.

The Portuguese Colonies. — In 1640 the kingdom of Portugal freed itself from the domination of Spain. With the same blow Spain lost the great colonial possessions that came to her with the attachment of the Portuguese. "All the places," says Zuñiga, "which the Portuguese had in the Indies, separated themselves from the crown of Castile and recognized as king, Don Juan of Portugal." "This same year," he adds, "the Dutch took Malacca."[1]

The Moros. — *Increase of Moro Piracy.* — During all these years the raids of the Moros of Magindanao and Jolo had never ceased. Their piracies were almost continuous. There was no security; churches were looted, priests killed, people borne away for ransom or for slavery. Obviously, this piracy could only be met by destroying it at its source. Defensive fortifications and protective fleets were of no consequence, when compared with the necessity of subduing the Moro in his own lairs. In 1628 and 1630 punitive expeditions were sent against Jolo, Basilan, and Mindanao, which drove the Moros from their forts, burned their towns, and cut down their groves of cocoanut trees.

[1] *Historia de Filipinas*, p. 282.

But such expeditions served only to inflame the more the wrathful vengeance of the Moro, and in 1635 the government resolved upon a change of policy and the establishment of a presidio at Zamboanga.

Founding of a Spanish Post at Zamboanga.—This brings us to a new phase in the Moro wars. The governor, Juan Cerezo de Salamanca, was determined upon the conquest and the occupation of Mindanao and Jolo. In taking this step, Salamanca, like Corcuera, who succeeded him, acted under the influence of the Jesuits. Their missions in Bohol and northern Mindanao made them ambitious to reserve for the ministrations of their society all lands that were conquered and occupied, south of the Bisayas.

The Jesuits were the missionaries on Ternate and Siao and wherever in the Moluccas and Celebes the Spanish and Portuguese had established their power. The Jesuits had accompanied the expedition of Rodriguez de Figueroa in 1595, and from that date they never ceased petitioning the government for a military occupation of these islands and for their own return, as the missionaries of these regions. The Jesuits were brilliant and able administrators. For men of their activity, Mindanao, with its rich soil, attractive productions, and comparatively numerous populations, was a most enticing field for the establishment of such a theocratic commonwealth as the Jesuits had created and administered in America.[1]

On the other hand, the occupation of Zamboanga was strenuously opposed by the other religious orders; but the Jesuits, ever remarkable for their ascendancy in affairs of

[1] How attractive the island appeared and how well they knew its peoples is revealed by the accurate descriptions in the first book of Combés' *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo.*

state, were able to effect the establishment of Zamboanga, though they could not prevent its abandonment a quarter of a century later.

Erection of the Forts. — The presidio was founded in 1635, by a force under Don Juan de Chaves. His army consisted of three hundred Spaniards and one thousand Bisayas. The end of the peninsula was swept of Moro inhabitants and their towns destroyed by fire. In June the foundations of the stone fort were laid under the direction of the Jesuit, Father Vera, who is described as being experienced in military engineering and architecture.

To supply the new site with water, a ditch was built from the river Tumaga, a distance of six or seven miles, which brought a copious stream to the very walls of the fort. The advantage or failure of this expensive fortress is very hard to determine. Its planting was a partisan measure, and it was always subject to partisan praise and partisan blame. Sometimes it seemed to have checked the Moros and sometimes seemed only to be stirring them to fresh anger and aggression.

The same year that saw the establishment of Zamboanga, Hurtado de Corcuera became governor of the Philippines. He was much under the influence of the Jesuits and confirmed their policy of conquest.

Defeat of the Moro Pirate Tagal. — A few months later a notable fleet of pirates, recruited from Mindanao, Jolo, and Borneo, and headed by a chieftain named Tagal, a brother of the notorious Corralat, sultan of Magindanao, went defiantly past the new presidio and northward through the Mindoro Sea. For more than seven months they cruised the Bisayas. The islands of the Camarines especially felt their ravages. In Cuyo they captured the corregidor and three friars. Finally, with

650 captives and rich booty, including the ornaments and services of churches, Tagal turned southward on his return.

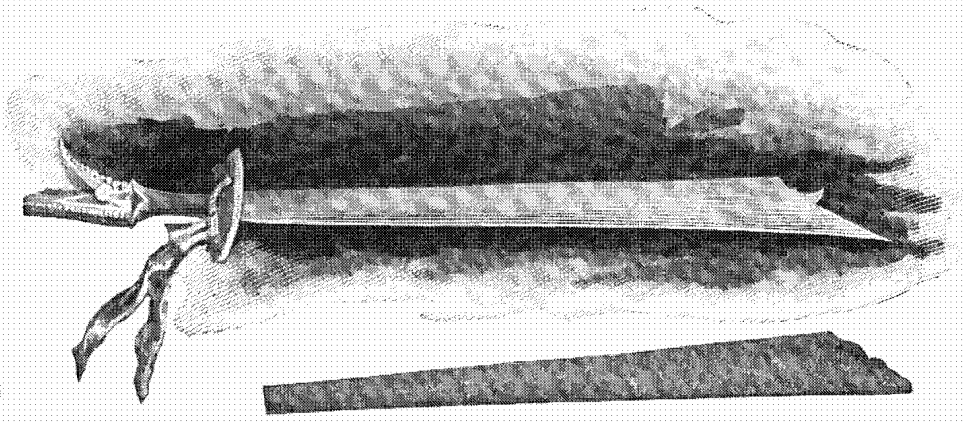
The presidio of Zamboanga had prepared to intercept him and a fierce battle took place off the Punta de Flechas, thirty leagues to the northeast of Zamboanga. According to the Spanish writers, this point was one held sacred by Moro superstitions. A deity inhabited these waters, whom the Moros were accustomed to propitiate on the departure and arrival of their expeditions, by throwing into the sea lances and arrows. The victory was a notable one for the Spanish arms. Tagal and more than 300 Moros were killed, and 120 Christian captives were released.

Moro Helmet and Coat of Mail.

Corcuera's Expedition against the Moros at Lamitan. — Corcuera had meanwhile been preparing an expedition,

which had taken on the character of a holy war. Jesuit and soldier mingled in its company and united in its direction. The Jesuit saint, Francis Xavier, was proclaimed patron of the expedition, and mass was celebrated daily on the ships. Corcuera himself accompanied the expedition, and at Zamboanga, where they arrived February 22, 1637, he united a force of 760 Spaniards and many Bisayas and Pampangos.

From Zamboanga the force started for Lamítan, the stronghold of Corralat, and the center of the power of the



Moro Sword and Scabbard.

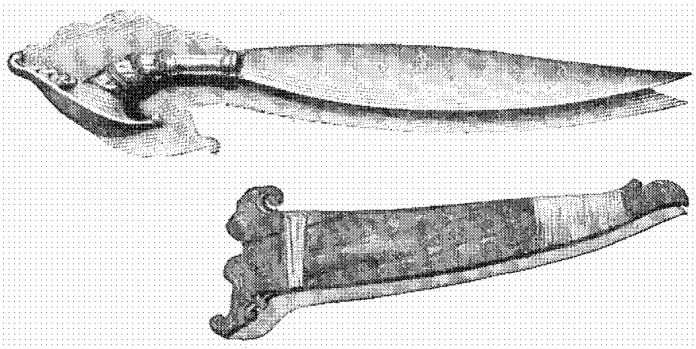
Magindanao. It seems to have been situated on the coast, south of the region of Lake Lanao. The fleet encountered rough weather and contrary winds off Punta de Flechas, which they attributed to the influence of the Moro demon.

To rid the locality of this unholy influence, Padre Marcello, the Jesuit superior, occupied himself for two days. Padre Combés has left us an account of the ceremony.[1] The demon was dispossessed by exorcism. Mass was celebrated. Various articles, representing Moro in-

[1] *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo,* lib. IV., chap. 7.

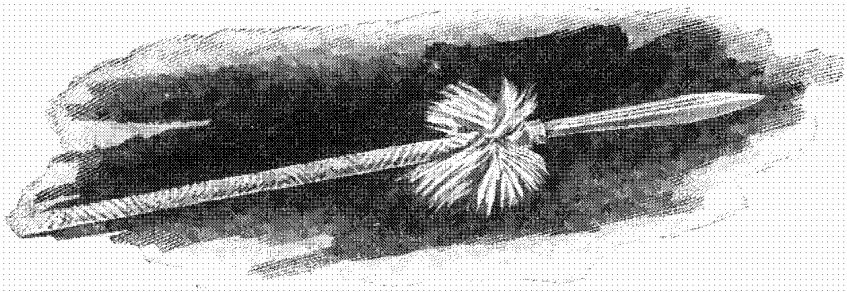
fidelity, including arrows, were destroyed and burnt. Holy relics were thrown into the waters, and the place was finally sanctified by baptism in the name of Saint Sebastian.

On the 14th of March the expedition reached Lamítan,



Sulu Barong and Sheath.

fortified and defended by two thousand Moro warriors. The Spanish force, however, was overwhelming, and the

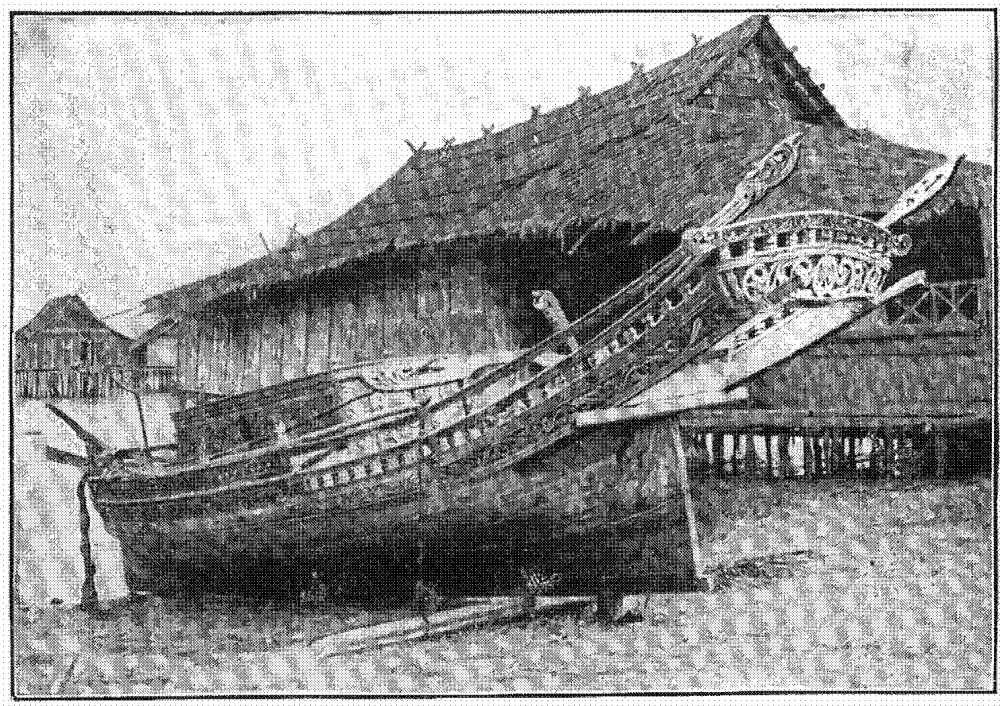


Moro Spear.

city was taken by storm. Here were captured eight bronze cannon, twenty-seven "versos" (lantakas or swivel-guns), and over a hundred muskets and arquebuses and a great store of Moro weapons. Over one hundred vessels were destroyed, including a fleet of Malay merchant praus from Java. Sixteen villages were burned,

and seventy-two Moros were hanged. Corralat, though pursued and wounded, was not captured.[1]

The Conquest of Jolo.—Corcuera returned to Zamboanga and organized an expedition for the conquest of Jolo. Although defended by four thousand Moro warriors and by allies from Basílan and Tawi Tawi, Corcuera took Jolo after some months of siege. The sultan saved



Old Moro Sailing Boat.

himself by flight, but the sultana was taken prisoner. Corcuera reconstructed the fort, established a garrison of two hundred Spaniards and an equal number of Pampangos, left some Jesuit fathers, and, having nominated

[1] This important victory was commemorated in a number of writings, some of which have been reprinted by Retana. See *Sucesos Felices, que por Mar y Tierra ha dado N. S. a las armas Españolas*, 1637. Another is published in the Appendix to Barrantes', *Historia de Guerras Piraticas*. The subject is also fully treated by Combés.

Major Almonte chief of all the forces in the south, returned in May, 1638, to Manila, with all the triumph of a conqueror.

Almonte continued the work of subjugation. In 1639 he conquered the Moro dato of Buhayen, in the valley of the Rio Grande, where a small presidio was founded. And in the same year the Jesuits prevailed upon him to invade the territory of the Malanao, now known as the Laguna de Lanao. This expedition was made from the north through Iligan, and for a time brought even this warlike and difficult territory under the authority of the governor and the spiritual administration of the Jesuits.

Loss of the Spanish Settlement on Formosa. — The full military success of Corcuera's governorship was marred by the loss of Macao and the capture of the Spanish settlement on the island of Formosa by the Dutch. In the attempt to hold Macao, Corcuera sent over the encomendero of Pasig, Don Juan Claudio. The populace of Macao, however, rose in tumult, assassinated the governor, Sebastian Lobo, and pronounced in favor of Portugal. Later, by decree of the Portuguese governor of Goa, all the Spanish residents and missionaries were expelled. The Dutch seizure of Formosa, a year later, has already been described.

The Archipelago and the Religious Orders. — During these decades, disputes were almost incessant between the archbishop of Manila and the regular orders. In the Philippines the regulars were the parish curates, and the archbishop desired that all matters of their curacy, touching the administration of the sacraments and other parish duties, should be subject to the direction of the bishops. This question of the "diocesan visit" was fought over for nearly two hundred years.

The Governor and the Archbishop. — Even more serious to the colony were the oppositions that divided the governor-general and the archbishop. All the points of dissension between Church and State, which vexed the Middle Ages, broke out afresh in the Philippines. The appointment of religious officers; the distribution of revenue; the treatment of the natives; the claim of the church to offer asylum to those fleeing the arm of the law; its claims of jurisdiction, in its ecclesiastical courts, over a large class of civil offenses — these disputes and many others, occasioned almost incessant discord between the heads of civil and ecclesiastical authority.

The "Residencia." — We have seen that the power of the governor was in fact very large. Theoretically, the Audiencia was a limit upon his authority; but in fact the governor was usually the president of this body, and the oidores were frequently his abettors and rarely his opponents. At the end of each governor's rule there took place a characteristic Spanish institution, called the "residencia." This was a court held by the newly elected governor, for an examination into the conduct of his predecessor. Complaints of every description were received, and often, in the history of the Philippines, one who had ruled the Archipelago almost as an independent monarch found himself, at the end of his office, ruined and in chains.

It was upon the occasion of the residencia that the opposing interests, after a governorship stormy with disputes, obtained the chance of revenge. Unquestionably many a governor, despite his actual power, facing, as he did, the new governor's residencia at the termination of his rule, made peace with his enemies and yielded to their demands.

Corcuera had continuous troubles with the archbishop and with the religious orders other than the Jesuits. In 1644, when his successor, Fajardo, relieved him, the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Recollects procured his imprisonment and the confiscation of his property. For five years, the conqueror of the Moros lay a prisoner in the fortresses of Santiago and Cavite, when he was pardoned by the Council of the Indies, and appointed governor of the Canaries by the king.

Weakening of the Governor's Power. — This power of private and religious classes to intimidate and overawe the responsible head of the Philippine government was an abuse which continued to the very close of the Spanish rule. This, together with the relatively short term of the governor's office, his natural desire to avoid trouble, his all too frequent purpose of amassing a fortune rather than maintaining the dignity of his position and advancing the interests of the Islands, combined decade after decade to make the spiritual authority more powerful. In the end the religious orders, with their great body of members, their hold upon the Filipinos, their high influence at the court, and finally their great landed wealth, prevailed.

The Educational Work of the Religious Orders. — In any criticism of the evils connected with their administration of the Philippines, one must not fail to recognize the many achievements of the missionary friars that were worthy. To the Dominicans and the Jesuits is due the establishment of institutions of learning. The Jesuits in 1601 had planted their College of San José. The Dominicans, here as in Europe, the champions of orthodox learning, had their own institution, the College of Santo Tomás, inaugurated in 1619, and were the rivals of the Jesuits for the privilege of giving higher instruction.

In 1645 the pope granted to the Dominicans the right to bestow higher degrees, and their college became the "Royal and Pontifical University of Saint Thomas Aquinas." This splendid name breathes that very spirit of the Middle Ages which the Dominican order strove to perpetuate in the Philippines down to modern days.[1] Dominicans also founded the College of San Juan de Letran, as a preparatory school to the University.

We should not pass over the educational work of the religious orders without mention of the early printing-plants and their publications. The missionary friars were famous printers, and in the Philippines, as well as in America, some noble volumes were produced by their handicraft.

Founding of Hospitals by the Franciscans. — Nor had the Franciscans in the Philippines neglected the fundamental purpose of their foundation, — that of ministration to the sick and unprotected. A narrative of their order, written in 1649, gives a long list of their beneficent foundations.[2] Besides the hospital of Manila, they had an infirmary at Cavite for the native mariners and shipbuilders, a hospital at Los Baños, another in the city of Nueva Cáceres. Lay brethren were attached to many of the convents as nurses.

In 1633 a curious occurrence led to the founding of the leper hospital of San Lazaro. The emperor of Japan, in a probably ironical mood, sent to Manila a shipload of Japanese afflicted with this unfortunate disease. These people were mercifully received by the Franciscans, and

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[1] The king did not confer the title of "Royal" until 1735, although the University was taken under his protection in 1680.

[2] *Entrada de la Seraphica Religion, de Nuestro P. S. Francisco en las Islas Filipinas,* Retana, vol. I.

cared for in a home, which became the San Lazaro hospital for lepers.

Life and Progress of the Filipinos. — Few sources exist that can show us the life and progress of the Filipino people during these decades. Christianity, as introduced by the missionary friars, was generally successful, and yet there were relapses into heathenism. Old religious leaders and priestesses roused up from time to time, and incited the natives to rebellion against their new spiritual masters. The payment of tribute and the labor required for the building of churches often drove the people into the mountains.

Religious Revolt at Bohol and Leyte. — In 1621 a somewhat serious revolt took place on Bohol. The Jesuits who administered the island were absent in Cebu, attending the fiestas on the canonization of Saint Francis Xavier. The whisper was raised that the old heathen deity, Diwata, was at hand to assist in the expulsion of the Spaniards. The island rose in revolt, except the two towns of Lobok and Baklayan. Four towns were burned, the churches sacked, and the sacred images speared. The revolt spread to Leyte, where it was headed by the old dato, Bankao of Limasawa, who had sworn friendship with Legazpi. This insurrection was put down by the alcalde mayor of Cebu and the Filipino leaders were hanged. On Leyte, Bankao was speared in battle, and one of the heathen priests suffered the penalty prescribed by the Inquisition for heresy — death by burning.

Revolt of the Pampangos. — The heavy drafting of natives to fell trees and build the ships for the Spanish naval expeditions and the Acapulco trade was also a cause for insurrection. In 1660 a thousand Pampangos were kept cutting in the forests of that province alone.

Sullen at their heavy labor and at the harshness of their overseers, these natives rose in revolt. The sedition spread to Pangasinan, Zambales, and Ilokos, and it required the utmost efforts of the Spanish forces on land and water to suppress the rebellion.

Uprising of the Chinese. — In spite of the terrible massacre, that had been visited upon the Chinese at the beginning of the century, they had almost immediately commenced returning not only as merchants, but as colonists. The early restrictions upon their life must have been relaxed, for in 1639 there were more than thirty thousand living in the Islands, many of them cultivating lands at Calamba and at other points on the Laguna de Bay.

In that year a rebellion broke out, in which the Chinese in Manila participated. They seized the church of San Pedro Macati, on the Pasig, and fortified themselves. From there they were routed by a combined Filipino and Spanish force. The Chinese then broke up into small bands, which scattered through the country, looting and murdering, but being pursued and cut to pieces by the Filipinos. For five months this pillage and massacre went on, until seven thousand Chinese were destroyed. By the loss of these agriculturists and laborers Manila was reduced to great distress.

Activity of the Moro Pirates. — The task of the Spaniards in controlling the Moro datos continued to be immensely difficult. During the years following the successes of Corcuera and Almonte, the Moros were continually plotting. Aid was furnished from Borneo and Celebes, and they were further incited by the Dutch. In spite of the vigilance of Zamboanga, small piratical excursions continually harassed the Bisayas and the Camarines.

Continued Conflicts with the Dutch. — The Dutch, too, from time to time showed themselves in Manila. In 1646 a squadron attacked Zamboanga, and then came north to Luzon. The Spanish naval strength was quite unprepared; but two galleons, lately arrived from Acapulco, were fitted with heavy guns, Dominican friars took their places among the gunners, and successfully encountered the enemy.

A year later twelve Dutch vessels entered Manila Bay, and nearly succeeded in taking Cavite. Failing in this, they landed in Bataan province, and for some time held the coast of Manila Bay in the vicinity of Abucay. The narrative of Franciscan missions in 1649, above cited, gives town after town in southern Luzon, where church and convent had been burned by the Moros or the Dutch.

The Abandonment of Zamboanga and the Moluccas. — The threat of the Dutch made the maintenance of the presidio of Zamboanga very burdensome. In 1656 the administration of the Moluccas was united with that of Mindanao, and the governor of the former, Don Francisco de Esteybar, was transferred from Ternate to Zamboanga and made lieutenant-governor and captain-general of all the provinces of the south.

Six years later, the Moluccas, so long coveted by the Spaniards, and so slowly won by them, together with Zamboanga, were wholly abandoned, and to the Spice Islands the Spaniards were never to return. This sudden retirement from their southern possessions was not, however, occasioned by the incessant restlessness of the Moros nor by the plottings of the Dutch. It was due to a threat of danger from the north.

Koxinga the Chinese Adventurer. — In 1644, China was conquered by the Manchus. Pekin capitulated at

once and the Ming dynasty was overthrown, but it was only by many years of fighting that the Manchus overcame the Chinese of the central and southern provinces. These were years of turbulance, revolt, and piracy.

More than one Chinese adventurer rose to a romantic position during this disturbed time. One of these adventurers, named It Coan, had been a poor fisherman of Chio. He had lived in Macao, where he had been converted to Christianity, and had been a cargador, or cargo-bearer, in Manila. He afterwards went to Japan, and engaged in trade. From these humble and laborious beginnings, like many another of his persistent countrymen, he gained great wealth, which on the conquest of the Manchus he devoted to piracy.

His son was the notorious Kue-Sing, or Koxinga, who for years resisted the armies of the Manchus, and maintained an independent power over the coasts of Fukien and Chekiang. About 1660 the forces of the Manchus became too formidable for him to longer resist them upon the mainland, and Koxinga determined upon the capture of Formosa and the transference of his kingdom to that island.

For thirty-eight years this island had been dominated by the Dutch, whose fortresses commanded the channel of the Pescadores. The colony was regarded as an important one by the Dutch colonial government at Batavia. The city of Tai-wan, on the west coast, was a considerable center of trade. It was strongly protected by the fortress of Zealand, and had a garrison of twenty-two hundred Dutch soldiers. After months of fighting, Koxinga, with an overpowering force of Chinese, compelled the surrender of the Hollanders and the beautiful island passed into his power.

A Threatened Invasion of the Philippines.—Exalted by his success against European arms, Koxinga resolved upon the conquest of the Philippines. He summoned to his service the Italian Dominican missionary, Ricci, who had been living in the province of Fukien, and in the spring of 1662 dispatched him as an ambassador to the governor of the Philippines to demand the submission of the archipelago.

Manila was thrown into a terrible panic by this demand, and indeed no such danger had threatened the Spanish in the Philippines since the invasion of Limahong. The Chinese conqueror had an innumerable army, and his armament, stores, and navy had been greatly augmented by the surrender of the Dutch. The Spaniards, however, were united on resistance. The governor, Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, returned a defiant answer to Koxinga, and the most radical measures were adopted to place the colony in a state of defense.

All Chinese were ordered immediately to leave the Islands. Fearful of massacre, these wretched people again broke out in rebellion, and assaulted the city. Many were slain, and other bands wandered off into the mountains, where they perished at the hands of the natives. Others, escaping by frail boats, joined the Chinese colonists on Formosa. Churches and convents in the suburbs of Manila, which might afford shelter to the assailant, were razed to the ground. More than all this, the Moluccas were forsaken, never again to be recovered by Spaniards; and the presidios of Zamboanga and Cuyo, which served as a kind of bridle on the Moros of Jolo and Mindanao, were abandoned. All Spanish troops were concentrated in Manila, fortifications were rebuilt, and the population waited anxiously for the attack. But the blow never fell.

Before Ricci arrived at Tai-wan, Koxinga was dead, and the peril of Chinese invasion had passed.

Effects of These Events. — But the Philippines had suffered irretrievable loss. Spanish prestige was gone. Manila was no longer, as she had been at the commencement of the century, the capital of the East. Spanish sovereignty was again confined to Luzon and the Bisayas. The Chinese trade, on which rested the economic prosperity of Manila, had once again been ruined. For a hundred years the history of the Philippines is a dull monotony, quite unrelieved by any heroic activity or the presence of noble character.[1]

[1] The Jesuits, on retiring with the Spanish forces from the Moluccas, brought from Ternate a colony of their converts. These people were settled at Marigondon, on the south shore of Manila Bay, where their descendants can still be distinguished from the surrounding Tagálog population.

CHAPTER IX.

A CENTURY OF OBSCURITY AND DECLINE. 1663–1762.

Political Decline of the Philippines. — For the hundred years succeeding the abandonment of the Moluccas, the Philippines lost all political significance as a colony. From almost every standpoint they were profitless to Spain. There were continued deficits, which had to be made good from the Mexican treasury. The part of Spain in the conquest of the East was over, and the Philippines became little more than a great missionary establishment, presided over by the religious orders.

Death of Governor Salcedo by the Inquisition. — In 1663, Lara was succeeded by Don Diego de Salcedo. On his arrival, Manila had high hopes of him, which were speedily disappointed. He loaded the Acapulco galleon with his own private merchandise, and then dispatched it earlier than was usual, before the cargoes of the merchants were ready. He engaged in a wearisome strife with the archbishop, and seems to have worried the ecclesiastic, who was aged and feeble, into his grave. At the end of a few years he was hated by every one, and a conspiracy against him was formed which embraced the religious, the army, the civil officials, and the merchants. Beyond the reach of the power of ordinary plotters, he fell a victim to the commissioner of the Inquisition.

The Spanish Inquisition, which wrought such cruelty and misery in the Peninsula, was carried also to the Spanish colonies. As we have seen, it was primarily the function of the Dominican order to administer the institu-

tion. The powers exercised by an inquisitor can scarcely be understood at the present day. His methods were secret, the charges were not made public, the whole proceedings were closeted, and yet so great were the powers of this court that none could resist its authority, or inquire into its actions. Spain forbade any heretics, Jews, or Moors going to the colonies, and did the utmost to prevent heresy abroad. She also established in America the Inquisition itself. Fortunately, it never attained the importance in the Philippines that it had in Spain. In the Philippines there was no "Tribunal," the institution being represented solely by a commissioner.

Death of the Governor. — In 1667, when the unpopularity of Governor Salcedo was at its height, this commissioner professed to discover in him grounds of heresy from the fact that he had been born in Flanders, and decided to avenge the Church by encompassing his ruin. By secret arrangement, the master of the camp withdrew the guard from the palace, and the commissioner, with several confederates, gained admission. The door of the governor's room was opened by an old woman, who had been terrified into complicity, and the governor was seized sleeping, with his arms lying at the head of his bed.

The commissioner informed the governor that he was a prisoner of the Holy Office. He was taken first to the convent of the Franciscans. He was kept in chains until he could be sent to Mexico, to appear before the Tribunal there. The government in Mexico annulled the arrest of the commissioner, but Salcedo died at sea on the voyage of the vessel to Acapulco.

Colonization of the Ladrone Islands. — In 1668 a Jesuit mission under Padre Diego Luis de Sanvítores was established on the Ladrones, the first of the many mission

stations, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the South Pacific. The islands at that time were well populated and fertile, and had drawn the enthusiasm of Padre Sanvítores in 1662 when he first sailed to the Philippines.

The hostility of the Manchus in China, the Japanese persecutions, and the abandonment of Mindanao had closed many mission fields, and explains the eagerness with which the Jesuits sought the royal permission to Christianize these islands, which had been constantly visited by Spanish ships but never before colonized. With Padre Sanvítores and his five Jesuit associates were a number of Christian Filipino catechists.

Settlement of Guam. — The mission landed at Guam, and was favorably received. Society among these islanders was divided into castes. The chiefs were known as chamorri, which has led to the natives of the Ladrones being called "Chamorros." A piece of ground was given the Jesuits for a church at the principal town called Agadna (Agaña), and here also a seminary was built for the instruction of young men. The queen regent of Spain, Maria of Austria, gave an annual sum to this school, and in her honor the Jesuits changed the name of the islands to the Marianas. The Jesuits preached on eleven inhabited islands of the group, and in a year's time had baptized thirteen thousand islanders and given instruction to twenty thousand.

Troubles with the Natives at Guam. — This first year was the most successful in the history of the mission. Almost immediately after, the zeal of the Jesuits aroused the opposition of the natives. There were quarrels in several places, and priests, seeking to baptize children against the wishes of their parents, were killed. In 1670 the Spaniards were attacked, and obliged to fortify themselves at Agaña.

The Jesuits had a guard of a Spanish captain and about thirty Spanish and Filipino soldiers, who, after some struggle with the natives, compelled them to sue for peace. The conditions imposed by the Jesuits were that the natives should attend mass and festivals, have their children baptized, and send them to be catechised. The hatred of the natives was unabated, however, and in 1672 Sanvítores was killed by them. His biographer claims that at his death he had baptized nearly fifty thousand of these islanders.[1]

Depopulation of the Ladrone Islands. — About 1680 a governor was sent to the Ladrone Islands, and they were organized as a dependency of Spain. The policy of governing by the sword failed in its ends. The natives were persecuted from island to island, and in the history of European settlements there is hardly one that had more miserable consequences to the inhabitants. Disease was introduced and swept off large numbers. Others fell resisting the Spaniards, and an entire island was frequently depopulated by order of the governor, or the desire of the Jesuits to have the natives brought to Guam. Many, with little doubt, fled to other archipelagoes.

If we can trust the Jesuit accounts, there were in the whole group one hundred thousand inhabitants when the Spaniards arrived. A generation saw them almost extinct. Dampier, who touched at Guam in 1686, says then that on the island, where the Spaniards had found thirty thousand people, there were not above one hundred natives. In 1716 and 1721 other voyagers announced the number of inhabitants on Guam at two thousand, but only one other island of the group was populated. When

[1] See the account of the "Settlement of the Ladrones by the Spaniards," in Burney's *Voyages in the Pacific*, vol. III.

Anson in 1742 visited Guam, the number had risen to four thousand, and there were a few hundred inhabitants on Rota; but these seem to have been the whole population. The original native population certainly very nearly touched extinction. The islands were from time to time colonized from the Philippines, and the present population is very largely of Filipino blood.

Conflicts between Governor and Archbishop. — Meanwhile, in the Philippines the conflict of the governor with the archbishop and the friars continued. The conduct of both sides was selfish and outrageous. In 1683 the actions of Archbishop Pardo became so violent and seditious that the Audiencia decreed his banishment to Pangasinan or Cagayan. He was taken by force to Lingayan, where he was well accommodated but kept under surveillance. The Dominicans retaliated by excommunication, and the Audiencia thereupon banished the provincial of the order from the Islands, and sent several other friars to Mariveles.

But the year following, Governor Vargas was relieved by the arrival of his successor, who was favorable to the ecclesiastical side of the controversy. The archbishop returned and assumed a high hand. He suspended and excommunicated on all sides. The oidores were banished from the city, and all died in exile in remote portions of the archipelago. The ex-governor-general, Vargas, being placed under the spiritual ban, sued for pardon and begged that his repentance be recognized.

The archbishop sentenced him to stand daily for the space of four months at the entrances to the churches of the city and of the Parian, and in the thronged quarter of Binondo, attired in the habit of a penitent, with a rope about his neck and carrying a lighted candle in his hand.

He was, however, able to secure a mitigation of this sentence, but was required to live absolutely alone in a hut on an island in the Pasig River. He was sent a prisoner to Mexico in 1689, but died upon the voyage.

The various deans and canons who had concurred in the archbishop's banishment, as well as other religious with whom the prelate had had dissensions, were imprisoned or exiled. The bodies of two oidores were, on their death and after their burial, disinterred and their bones profaned.

Degeneration of the Colony under Church Rule. — Archbishop Pardo died in 1689, but the strife and confusion which had been engendered continued. There were quarrels between the archbishop and the friars, between the prelate and the governor. All classes seem to have shared the bitterness and the hatred of these unhappy dissensions.

The moral tone of the whole colony during the latter part of the seventeenth century was lowered. Corruption flourished everywhere, and the vigor of the administration decayed. Violence went unrebuked, and the way was open for the deplorable tragedy in which this strife of parties culminated. Certainly no governor could have been more supine, and shown greater incapacity and weakness of character, than the one who ruled in the time of Archbishop Pardo.

Improvements Made by Governor Bustamante. — *Enrichment of the Treasury* — In the year 1717, however, came a governor of a different type, Fernando Manuel de Bustamante. He was an old soldier, stern of character and severe in his measures. He found the treasury robbed and exhausted. Nearly the whole population of Manila were in debt to the public funds. Bustamante ordered

these amounts paid, and to compel their collection he attached the cargo of silver arriving by the galleon from Acapulco. This cargo was owned by the religious companies, officials, and merchants, all of whom were indebted to the government. In one year of his vigorous administration he raised the sum of three hundred thousand pesos for the treasury.

With sums of money again at the disposal of the state, Bustamante attempted to revive the decayed prestige and commerce of the Islands.

Refounding of Zamboanga.—In 1718 he refounded and rebuilt the presidio of Zamboanga. Not a year had passed, since its abandonment years before, that the pirates from Borneo and Mindanao had failed to ravage the Bisayas. The Jesuits had petitioned regularly for its reëstablishment, and in 1712 the king had decreed its reoccupation. The citadel was rebuilt on an elaborate plan under the direction of the engineer, Don Juan Sicarra. Besides the usual barracks, storehouses, and arsenals, there were, within the walls, a church, hospital, and cuartel for the Pampangan soldiers. Sixty-one cannon were mounted upon the defenses. Upon the petition of the Recollects, Bustamante also established a presidio at Labo, at the southern point of the island of Palawan, whose coasts were attacked by the Moros from Sulu and Borneo.

Treaty with Siam. — In the same year he sent an embassy to Siam, with the idea of stimulating the commerce which had flourished a century before. The reception of this embassy was most flattering; a treaty of peace, friendship, and commerce was made, and on ground ceded to the Spaniards was begun the erection of a factory.

Improvements in the City of Manila. — How far this active and determined man might have revived the colony

it is impossible to say. The population of Manila, both ecclesiastical and civil, was at this time so corrupt and so full of dissension as to make almost impossible any recuperation except under the lead of a man equally determined as Bustamante, but ruling for a long period of time. He had not hesitated to order investigations into the finances of the Islands, which disclosed defalcations amounting to seven hundred thousand pesos. He fearlessly arrested the defaulters, no matter what their station. The whole city was concerned in these peculations, consequently the utmost fear and apprehension existed on all sides; and Bustamante, hated as well as dreaded, was compelled to enforce his reforms single-handed.

His Murder.— He was opposed by the friars and defied by the archbishop, but, notwithstanding ecclesiastical condemnation, he went to the point of ordering the arrest of the prelate. The city rose in sedition, and a mob, headed by friars, proceeded to the palace of the governor, broke in upon him, and, as he faced them alone and without support, killed him in cold blood (October 11, 1719).

The archbishop proclaimed himself governor and president of the Audiencia. The oidores and officials who had been placed under arrest by Bustamante were released, and his work overthrown. The new government had neither the courage nor the inclination to continue Bustamante's policy, and in 1720 the archbishop called a council of war, which decreed the abandonment of the fort at Labo.

When the news of this murder reached Spain, the king ordered an investigation and the punishment of the guilty, and in 1721 Governor Campo arrived to put these mandates into execution. The culprits, however, were so high and so influential that the governor did not dare

proceed against them; and although the commands of the king were reiterated in 1724, the assassins of Bustamante were never brought to justice.

Treaty with the Sultan of Jolo. — In spite of the feeble policy of the successors of Bustamante, the presidio of Zamboanga was not abandoned. So poorly was it administered, however, that it was not effective to prevent Moro piracy, and the attacks upon the Bisayas and Calamianes continued. In 1721 a treaty was formed with the sultan of Jolo providing for trade between Manila and Jolo, the return or ransom of captives, and the restitution to Spain of the island of Basílan.

The Moro Pirates of Tawi Tawi. — To some extent this treaty seems to have prevented assaults from Jolo, but in 1730 the Moros of Tawi Tawi fell upon Palawan and the Calamianes, and in 1731 another expedition from the south spent nearly a whole year cruising and destroying among the Bisayas.

Deplorable State of Spanish Defenses. — The defenses of the Spaniards during these many decades were continually in a deplorable state, their arms were wretched, and, except in moments of great apprehension, no attention was given to fortifications, to the preservation of artillery, nor to the supply of ammunition. Sudden attacks ever found the Spaniards unprepared. Military unreadiness was the normal condition of this archipelago from these early centuries down to the destruction of the Spanish armament by the American fleet.

The Economic Policy of Spain. — *Restrictions of Trade.* — During the closing years of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, commerce seems to have been actually paralyzed. That brilliant trade which is described by Morga, and which was at its height about

1605, was a few years later defeated by the protective economic policy of Spain, pandering to the demands of the merchants of Cadiz and Seville.

Spain's economic policy had only in view benefits to the Peninsula. "The Laws of the Indies" abound with edicts for the purpose of limiting and crippling colonial commerce and industry, wherever it was imagined that it might be prejudicial to the protected industries of Spain. The manufacturers of Seville wished to preserve the colonies, both of America and of the Indies, as markets for their monopoly wares; and in this policy, for two centuries, they had the support of the crown. The growing trade between Mexico and the Philippines had early been regarded with suspicion, and legislation was framed to reduce it to the lowest point compatible with the existence of the colony.

None of the colonies of America could conduct commerce with the Philippines except Mexico, and here all communication must pass through the port of Acapulco. This trade was limited to the passage of a single vessel a year. In 1605 two galleons were permitted, but their size was reduced to three hundred tons. They were allowed to carry out 500,000 pesos of silver, but no more than 250,000 pesos' worth of Chinese products could be returned. Neither the Spaniards of Mexico nor any part of America could traffic directly with China, nor could Spanish vessels pass from Manila to the ports of Asia. Only those goods could be bought which Chinese merchants themselves brought to the Philippines.

Selfishness of Merchants in Spain. — Even these restrictions did not satisfy the jealousy of the merchants of Spain. They complained that the royal orders limiting the traffic were not regarded, and they insisted upon so

vexatious a supervision of this commerce, and surrounded infractions of the law with such severe penalties, that the trade was not maintained even to the amount permitted by law. Spanish merchants even went to the point of petitioning for the abandonment of the Philippines, on the ground that the importations from China were prejudicial to the industry of the Peninsula.

The colonists upon the Pacific coast of America suffered from the lack of those commodities demanded by civilized life, which could only reach them as they came from Spain through the port of Porto Bello and the Isthmus of Panama. Without any question, a great and beneficial commerce could have been conducted by the Philippines with the provinces of western America.[1]

Trade between South America and the Philippines Forbidden. — But this traffic was absolutely forbidden, and to prevent Chinese and Philippine goods from entering South America, the trade between Mexico and Peru was in 1636 wholly suppressed by a decree. This decree, as it stands upon the pages of the great *Recopilación,* is an epitome of the fixed economic policy of the Spaniard. It cites that whereas "it had been permitted that from Peru to New Spain there should go each year two vessels for commerce and traffic to the amount of two hundred thousand ducats [which later had been reduced to one hundred thousand ducats], and because there had increased in Peru to an excessive amount the commerce in the fabrics of China, in spite of the many prohibitions that had been imposed, and in order absolutely to remove

[1] Some of the benefits of such a trade are set forth by the Jesuit, Alonzo de Ovalle, in his *Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Chili,* printed in Rome, 1649. In Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels,* vol. III.

the occasion for the future, we order and command the officers of Peru and New Spain that they invariably prohibit and suppress this commerce and traffic between the two kingdoms by all the channels through which it is conducted, maintaining this prohibition firmly and continually for the future." [1]

In 1718 the merchants of Seville and Cadiz still complained that their profits were being injured by even the limited importation of Chinese silks into Mexico. Thereupon absolute prohibition of import of Chinese silks, either woven or in thread, was decreed. Only linens, spices, and supplies of such things as were not produced in Spain could be brought into Mexico. This order was reaffirmed in 1720, with the provision that six months would be allowed the people of Mexico to consume the Chinese silks which they had in their possession, and thereafter all such goods must be destroyed.

Ineffectiveness of These Restrictions. — These measures, while ruining the commerce of the Philippines, were as a matter of fact ineffective to accomplish the result desired. Contraband trade between China and America sprang up in violation of the law. Silks to the value of four million pesos were annually smuggled into America.[2] In 1734 the unfortunate effect of such laws was somewhat recognized by the Council of the Indies, and a cédula was issued restoring the permission to trade in Chinese silks and raising the value of cargoes destined for Acapulco to five hundred thousand pesos, and the quantity of silver for return to one million pesos. The celebrated traffic of the galleon was resumed and continued until the year 1815.

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[1] *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, lib. VIII., titulo 45, ley 78.

[2] Montero y Vidal: *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. I., p. 460.

An Attempt to Colonize the Carolines. — Southeastward of the Philippines, in that part of the Pacific which is known as Micronesia, there is an archipelago of small islands called the Carolines. The westernmost portion of the group bears the name of the Pelews, or Palaos. Inasmuch as these islands were eventually acquired by Spain and remained in her possession down to the year 1890, it may be well to state something at this time of the attempt made by the Jesuits in 1731 to colonize them.

Certain of these little islands were seen several times by expeditions crossing the Pacific as early as the latter part of the sixteenth century, but after the trade between Mexico and the Philippines had been definitely settled upon, a fixed course was followed westward from Acapulco to Guam, from which there was little variation, and during the seventeenth century these islands passed quite out of mind; but in the year 1696 a party of natives, twenty men and ten women, were driven by storms far from their home in the Carolines upon the eastern coast of Samar. It seems that similar parties of castaways from the Pelew and Caroline Islands had been known to reach Mindanao and other parts of the Philippines at an even earlier date. These last came under the observation of the Jesuit priests on Samar, who baptized them, and, learning from them of the archipelago from which they had been carried, were filled with missionary ambition to visit and Christianize these Pacific islanders.

This idea was agitated by the Jesuits, until about 1730 royal permission was granted to the enterprise. A company of Jesuits in the following year sailed for the Ladrones and thence south until the Carolines were discovered. They landed on a small island not far from Yap. Here they succeeded in baptizing numerous natives and

in establishing a mission. Fourteen of their number, headed by the priest, Padre Cantava, remained on the island while the expedition returned to secure reënforcements and supplies. Unfortunately, this succor was delayed for more than a year, and when Spanish vessels with missionary reënforcements on board again reached the Carolines in 1733, the mission had been entirely destroyed and the Spaniards, with Padre Cantava, had been killed. These islands have been frequently called the "New Philippines."

Conditions of the Filipinos during the Eighteenth Century. — During the most of the eighteenth century, data are few upon the situation of the Filipino people. There seems to have been little progress. Conditions certainly were against the social or intellectual advance of the native race. Perhaps, however, their material well-being was quite as great during these years, when little was attempted, as during the governorships of the more ambitious and enterprising Spaniards who had characterized the earlier period of Philippine history.

Provincial Governments. — Provincial administration seems to have fallen almost wholly into the hands of the missionaries. The priests were almost the only Spaniards in the provinces of the Archipelago.

Insurrection in Bohol. — Insurrection seems especially to have troubled the island of Bohol during most of the eighteenth century, and in 1750 a revolt broke out which practically established the independence of a large portion of the island, and which was not suppressed for very many years. The trouble arose in the town of Inabanga, where the Jesuit priest Morales had greatly antagonized and embittered the natives by his severity. Some apostasized, and went to the hills. One of these men was

killed by the orders of the priest and his body refused Christian burial, and left uncared for and exposed.

A brother of this man, named Dagóhoy, infuriated by this indignity, headed a sedition which shortly included three thousand natives. The priest was killed, and his own body left by the road unburied. In spite of the efforts of the alcalde of Cebu, Dagóhoy was able to maintain himself, and practically established a small native state, which remained until the occupation of the island by the Recollects, after the Jesuits had been expelled from the Spanish dominions.

Activity of the Jesuits. — During the eighteenth century the Jesuits alone of the religious orders seemed to have been active in prosecuting their efforts and seeking new fields for conversion. The inactivity which fell upon the other orders places in greater contrast the zeal and the wider projects, both secular and spiritual, of the Jesuits.

Conversion of the Sultan Alim ud Din. — In 1747 they established a mission even on Jolo. They were unable to overcome the intense antagonism of the Moro panditas and datos, but they apparently won the young sultan, Alim ud Din, whose strange story and shifting fortunes have been variously told. One of the Jesuits, Padre Villelmi, was skilled in the Arabic language, and this familiarity with the language and literature of Mohammedanism doubtless explains his ascendency over the mind of the sultan. Alim ud Din was not a strong man. His power over the subordinate datos was small, and in 1748 his brother, Bantilan, usurped his place and was proclaimed sultan of Jolo.

Alim ud Din, with his family and numerous escort, came to Zamboanga, seeking the aid of the Spanish against

his brother. From Zamboanga he was sent to Manila. On his arrival, January 3, 1749, he was received with all the pomp and honor due to a prince of high rank. A house for his entertainment and his retinue of seventy persons was prepared in Binondo. A public entrance was arranged, which took place some fifteen days after his reaching the city. Triumphal arches were erected across the streets, which were lined with more than two thousand native militia under arms. The sultan was publicly received in the hall of the Audiencia, where the governor promised to lay his case before the king of Spain. The sultan was showered with presents, which included chains of gold, fine garments, precious gems, and gold canes, while the government sustained the expense of his household.[1]

Following this reception, steps were taken for his conversion. His spiritual advisers cited to him the example of the Emperor Constantine whose conversion enabled him to effect triumphant conquests over his enemies. Under these representations Alim ud Din expressed his desire for baptism. The governor-general, who at this time was a priest, the bishop of Nueva Segovia, was very anxious that the rite should take place; but this was opposed by his spiritual superior, the archbishop of Manila, who, with some others, entertained doubts as to the sincerity of the sultan's profession.

In order to accomplish his baptism, the governor sent him to his own diocese, where at Paniqui, on the 29th of April, 1750, the ceremony took place with great solemnity. On the return of the party to Manila, the sultan was received with great pomp, and in his honor

[1] *Relación de la Entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo,* in *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino,* vol. I.

were held games, theatrical representations, fire-works, and bull-fights. This was the high-water mark of the sultan's popularity.

Failure to Reinstate Alim ud Din.—Meanwhile the usurper, Bantilan, was giving abundant evidence of his hostility. The Spaniards were driven from Jolo, and the fleets of the Moros again ravaged the Bisayas. In July arrived the new governor, the Marquis of Obando, who determined to restore Alim ud Din and suppress the Moro piracy.

An expedition set sail, with the sultan on board, and went as far as Zamboanga, but accomplished nothing. Here the conduct of the sultan served to confirm the doubts of the Spaniards as to the sincerity of his friendship. He was arrested, and returned to Manila, and imprisoned in the fortress of Santiago. With varying treatment he remained in the hands of the Spaniards until 1763, when he was returned to Jolo by the English.

Great Increase in Moro Piracy. — The year 1754 is stated to have been the bloodiest in the history of Moro piracy. No part of the Bisayas escaped ravaging in this year, while the Camarines, Batangas, and Albay suffered equally with the rest. The conduct of the pirates was more than ordinarily cruel. Priests were slain, towns wholly destroyed, and thousands of captives were carried south into Moro slavery. The condition of the Islands at the end of this year was probably the most deplorable in their history.

Reforms under General Arandía. — The demoralization and misery with which Obando's rule closed were relieved somewhat by the capable government of Arandía, who succeeded him. Arandía was one of the few men of talent, energy, and integrity who stood at the head of affairs in these islands during two centuries.

He reformed the greatly disorganized military force, establishing what was known as the "Regiment of the King," made up very largely of Mexican soldiers. He also formed a corps of artillerists composed of Filipinos. These were regular troops, who received from Arandía sufficient pay to enable them to live decently and like an army.

He reformed the arsenal at Cavite, and, in spite of opposition on all sides, did something to infuse efficiency and honesty into the government. At the head of the armament which had been sent against the Moros he placed a Jesuit priest, Father Ducos. A capable officer was also sent to command the presidio at Zamboanga, and while Moro piracy was not stopped, heavy retaliation was visited upon the pirates.

Arandía's most popular act of government was the expulsion of the Chinese from the provinces, and in large part from the city. They seem to have had in their hands then, perhaps even more than now, the commerce or small trade between Manila and provincial towns. To take over this trade, Arandía founded a commercial company of Spaniards and mestizos, which lasted only for a year. The Christianized Chinese were allowed to remain under license, and for those having shops in Manila Arandía founded the Alcaycería of San Fernando. It consisted of a great square of shops built about an open interior, and stood in Binondo, on the site of the former Parian, in what is still a populous Chinese quarter.

Death of Arandía and Decline of the Colony. — Arandía died in May, 1759, and the government was assumed by the bishop of Cebu, who in turn was relieved of his position by the arrival of the archbishop of Manila, Don Manuel Rojo. The archbishop revoked the celebrated

orders of good government which Arandía had put into force, and the colony promised to relapse once more into its customary dormant condition. This was, however, prevented by an event which brought to an end the long period of obscurity and inertia under which the colony had been gradually decaying, and introduced, in a way, a new period of its history. This was the capture of the Philippine Islands by the British in 1762.

CHAPTER X.

THE PHILIPPINES DURING THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. 1762–1837.

The New Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century. — The middle of the eighteenth century in Europe was a time when ideas were greatly liberalized. A philosophy became current which professed to look for its authority not to churches or hereditary custom and privilege, but to the laws of God as they are revealed in the natural world. Men taught that if we could only follow nature we could not do wrong. "Natural law" became the basis for a great amount of political and social discussion and the theoretical foundation of many social rights. The savage, ungoverned man was by many European philosophers and writers supposed to live a freer, more wholesome and more natural life than the man who is bound by the conventions of society and the laws of state.

Most of this reasoning we now know to be scientifically untrue. The savage and the hermit are not, in actual fact, types of human happiness and freedom. Ideal life for man is found only in governed society, where there is order and protection, and where also should be freedom of opportunity. But to the people of the eighteenth century, and especially to the scholars of France, where the government was monarchical and oppressive, and where the people were heavily burdened by the aristocracy, this teaching was welcomed as a new gospel. Nor was it devoid of grand and noble ideas — ideas which, carried out in a conservative way, have greatly bettered society.

It is from this philosophy and the revolution which

succeeded it that the world received the modern ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, and democracy. These ideas, having done their work in America and Europe, are here at work in the Philippines to-day. It remains to be seen whether a society can be rebuilt here on these principles, and whether Asia too will be reformed under their influence.

Colonial Conflicts between the Great European Countries. — During the latter half of the eighteenth century there culminated the long struggle for colonial empire between European states, which we have been following. We have seen how colonial conquest was commenced by the Portuguese, who were very shortly followed by the Spaniards, and how these two great Latin powers attempted to exclude the other European peoples from the rich Far East and the great New World which they had discovered.

We have seen how this attempt failed, how the Dutch and the English broke in upon this gigantic reserve, drove the Spanish fleets from the seas, and despoiled and took of this great empire almost whatever they would. The Dutch and English then fought between themselves. The English excluded the Dutch from North America, capturing their famous colony of New Amsterdam, now New York, and incorporating it (1674) with their other American colonies, which later became the United States of America. But in the East Indies the Dutch maintained their trade and power, gradually extending from island to island, until they gained — what they still possess — an almost complete monopoly of spice production.

War between England and France. — In India, England in the eighteenth century won great possessions and laid the foundation for what has been an almost complete

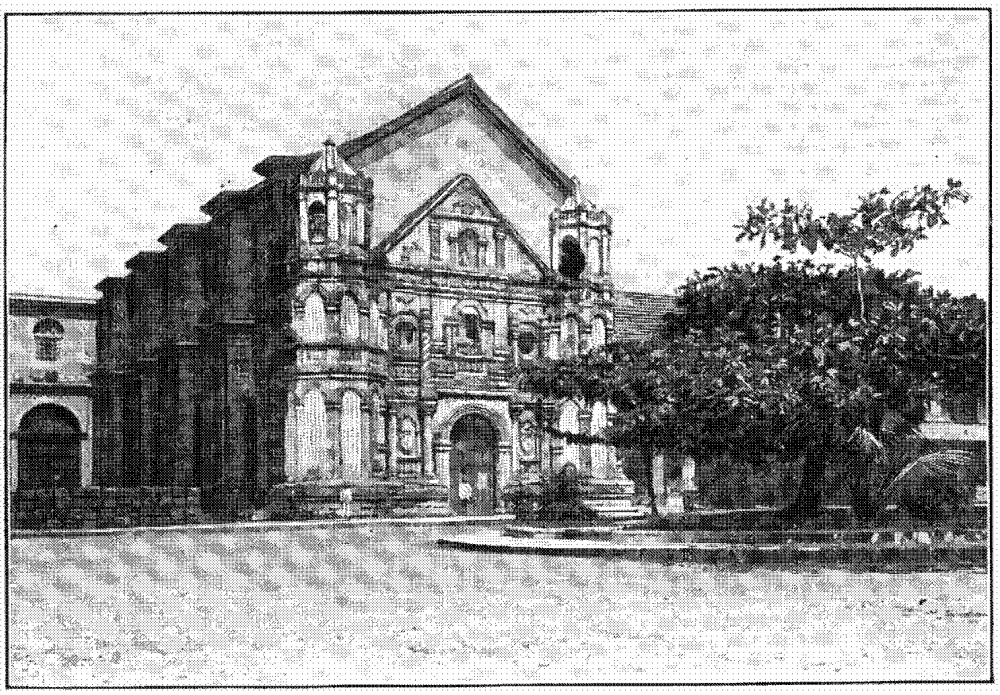
subjugation of this Eastern empire. Here, however, and even more so than in America, England encountered a royal and brilliant antagonist in the monarch of France.

French exploration in North America had given France claims to the two great river systems of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the latter by far the greatest and richest region of the temperate zone. So, during much of this eighteenth century, England and France were involved in wars that had for their prizes the possession of the continent of North America and the great peninsula of India.

This conflict reached its climax between 1756 and 1763. Both states put forth all their strength. France called to her support those countries whose reigning families were allied to her by blood, and in this way Spain was drawn into the struggle. The monarchs of both France and Spain belonged to the royal house of Bourbon. War was declared between England and Spain in 1762. Spain was totally unfitted for the combat. She could inflict no injury upon England and simply lay impotent and helpless to retaliate, while English fleets in the same year took Havana in the west and Manila in the east.

English Victory over French in India and America. — English power in India was represented during these years by the greatest and most striking figure in England's colonial history — Lord Clive. To him is due the defeat of France in India, the capture of her possessions, and the founding of the Indian Empire, which is still regarded as England's greatest possession. The French were expelled from India in the same year that the great citadel of New France in America — Quebec — was taken by the English under General Wolfe.

The Philippines under the English. — *Expedition from India to the Philippines.* — The English were now free to strike a blow at France's ally, Spain; and in Madras an expedition was prepared to destroy Spanish power in the Philippines. Notice of the preparation of this expedition reached Manila from several sources in the spring and summer of 1762; but with that fatality which pur-



Church at Malate.

sued the Spaniard to the end of his history in the Philippines, no preparations were made by him, until on the 22d of September a squadron of thirteen vessels anchored in Manila Bay.

Through the mist, the incredulous, negligent authorities of Manila mistook them for Chinese trading-junks; but it was the fleet of the English Admiral Cornish, with a force of five thousand British and Indian soldiers under the command of General Draper. For her defense Manila had

only 550 men of the "Regiment of the King" and eighty Filipino artillerists. Yet the Spaniards determined to make resistance from behind the walls of the city.

Surrender of Manila to the English. — The English disembarked and occupied Malate. From the churches of Malate, Ermita, and Santiago the British bombarded Manila, and the Spaniards replied from the batteries of San Andres and San Diego, the firing not being very effective on either side.

On the 25th, Draper summoned the city to surrender; but a council of war, held by the archbishop, who was also governor, decided to fight on. Thirty-six hundred Filipino militia from Pampanga, Bulacan, and Laguna marched to the defense of the city, and on the 3rd of October two thousand of these Filipinos made a sally from the walls and recklessly assaulted the English lines, but were driven back with slaughter. On the night of the 4th of October a breach in the walls was made by the artillery, and early in the morning of the 5th four hundred English soldiers entered almost without resistance. A company of militia on guard at the Puerta Real was bayoneted and the English then occupied the Plaza, and here received the surrender of the fort of Santiago.

The English agreed not to interfere with religious liberty, and honors of war were granted to the Spanish soldiers. Guards were placed upon the convent of the nuns of Santa Clara and the beaterios, and the city was given over to pillage, which lasted for forty hours, and in which many of the Chinese assisted.

Independent Spanish Capital under Anda at Bulacan. — The English were thus masters of the city, but during their period of occupation they never extended their power much beyond the present limits of Manila. Pre-

vious to the final assault and occupation of Manila, the authorities had nominated the oidor, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, lieutenant-governor and judge-at-large of the Islands, with instructions to maintain the country in its obedience to the king of Spain. Anda left the capital on the night of October 4, passing in a little banka through the nipa swamps and esteros on the north shore of Manila Bay to the provincial capital of Bulacan.

Here he called together the provincial of the Augustinian monks, the alcalde mayor of the province, and some other Spaniards. They resolved to form an independent government representing Spain, and to continue the resistance. This they were able to do as long as the British remained in the Islands. The English made a few short expeditions into Bulacan and up the Pasig River, but there was no hard fighting and no real effort made to pursue Anda's force. The Chinese welcomed the English and gave them some assistance, and for this Anda slew and hanged great numbers of them.

The Philippines Returned to Spain.— By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, peace was made, by which France surrendered practically all her colonial possessions to England; but England returned to Spain her captures in Cuba and the Philippines. In March, 1764, there arrived the Spanish frigate "Santa Rosa," bringing the first "Lieutenant of the King for the Islands," Don Francisco de la Torre, who brought with him news of the Treaty of Paris and the orders to the English to abandon the Islands.

Resistance of the English by the Friars. — In resistance to the English and in the efforts to maintain Spanish authority, a leading part had been taken by the friars. "The sacred orders," says Martinez de Zuñiga,[1]

[1] *Historia de Filipinas*, p. 682.

"had much to do with the success of Señor Anda. They maintained the Indians of their respective administrations loyal to the orders; they inspired the natives with horror against the English as enemies of the king and of religion, inciting them to die fighting to resist them; they contributed their estates and their property; and they exposed their own persons to great dangers." The friars were certainly most interested in retaining possession of the Islands and had most to lose by their falling into English hands.

Increase of the Jesuits in Wealth and Power. — In this zealous movement for defense, however, the Jesuits bore no part; and there were charges made against them of treasonable intercourse with the English, which may have had foundation, and which are of significance in the light of what subsequently occurred.

At the close of the eighteenth century, all the governments of Catholic Europe were aroused with jealousy and suspicious hatred against the Jesuits. The society, organized primarily for missionary labor, had gradually taken on much of a secular character. The society was distinguished, as we have seen in its history in the Philippines, by men with great capacity and liking for what we may call practical affairs as distinguished from purely religious or devotional life. The Jesuits were not alone missionaries and orthodox educators, but they were scientists, geographers, financiers, and powerful and almost independent administrators among heathen peoples. They had engaged so extensively and shrewdly in trade that their estates, warehouses, and exchanges bound together the fruitful fields of colonial provinces with the busy marts and money-centers of Europe. Their wealth was believed to be enormous. Properly invested and carefully guarded, it was rapidly increasing.

What, however, made the order exasperating alike to rulers and peoples were the powerful political intrigues in which members of the order engaged. Strong and masterful men themselves, the field of state affairs was irresistibly attractive. Their enemies charged that they were unscrupulous in the means which they employed to accomplish political ends. It is quite certain that the Jesuits were not patriotic in their purposes or plans. They were an international corporation; their members belonged to no one nation; to them the Society was greater and more worthy of devotion than any state, in which they themselves lived and worked.

Dissolution of the Society of Jesus. — Europe had, however, reached the belief, to which it adheres to-day, that a man must be true to the country in which he lives and finds shelter and protection and in which he ranks as a political member, or else incur odium and punishment. Thus it was their indifference to national feeling that brought about the ruin of the Jesuits. It is significant that the rulers, the most devoted to Catholicism, followed one another in decreeing their expulsion from their dominions. In 1759 they were expelled from Portugal, in 1764 from France, and April 2, 1767, the decree of confiscation and banishment from Spain and all Spanish possessions was issued by King Carlos III. Within a year thereafter, the two most powerful princes of Italy, the king of Naples and the Duke of Parma, followed, and then the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta expelled them from that island. The friends of the order were powerless to withstand this united front of Catholic monarchs, and in July, 1773, Pope Clement XIV. suppressed and dissolved the society, which was not restored until 1814.

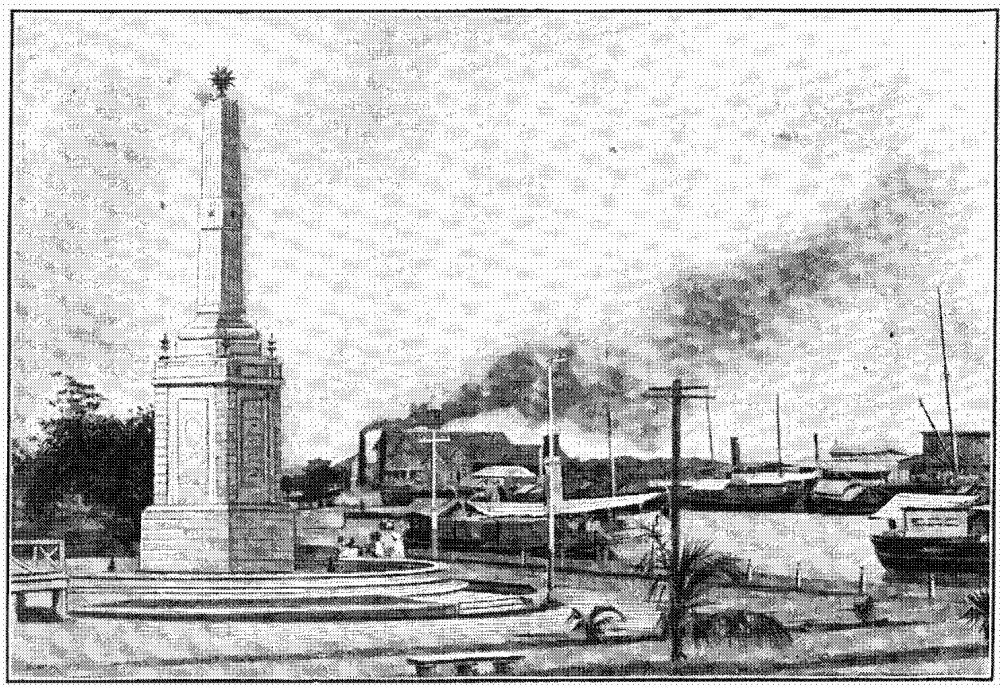
The Jesuits Expelled from the Philippines.—The order expelling the Jesuits from the Philippines was put into effect in the year 1767. The instructions authorized the governor in case of resistance to use force of arms as against a rebellion.[1] Besides their colleges in Manila, Tondo, Cavite, Leyte, Samar, Bohol, and Negros, the Jesuits administered curacies in the vicinity of Manila, in Cavite province, in Mindoro and Marinduque, while the islands of Bohol, Samar, and Leyte were completely under their spiritual jurisdiction. In Mindanao their missions, a dozen or more in number, were found on both the northern and eastern coasts. Outside of the Philippines proper they were the missionaries on the Ladrones, or Marianas. Their property in the Philippines, which was confiscated by the government, amounted to 1,320,000 pesos, although a great deal of their wealth was secreted and escaped seizure through the connivance of the governor, Raon.

Governor Anda's Charges against the Religious Orders. — Don Simon de Anda had been received in Spain with great honor for the defense which he had made in the Islands, and in 1770 returned as governor of the Philippines. His appointment was strongly resented by the friars. In 1768, Anda had addressed to the king a memorial upon the disorders in the Philippines, in which he openly charged the friars with commercialism, neglect of their spiritual duties, oppression of the natives, opposition to the teaching of the Spanish language, and scandalous interference with civil officials and affairs. Anda's remedy for these abuses was the rigorous enforcement of

[1] These orders and other documents dealing with the Jesuit expulsion are printed in Montero y Vidal, *Historia de Filipinas*, vol. II. p. 180 sq.

the laws actually existing for the punishment of such conduct and the return to Spain of friars who refused to respect the law.

He was, however, only partially successful in his policy. During the six years of his rule, he labored unremittingly to restore the Spanish government and to lift it from the decadence and corruption that had so long characterized

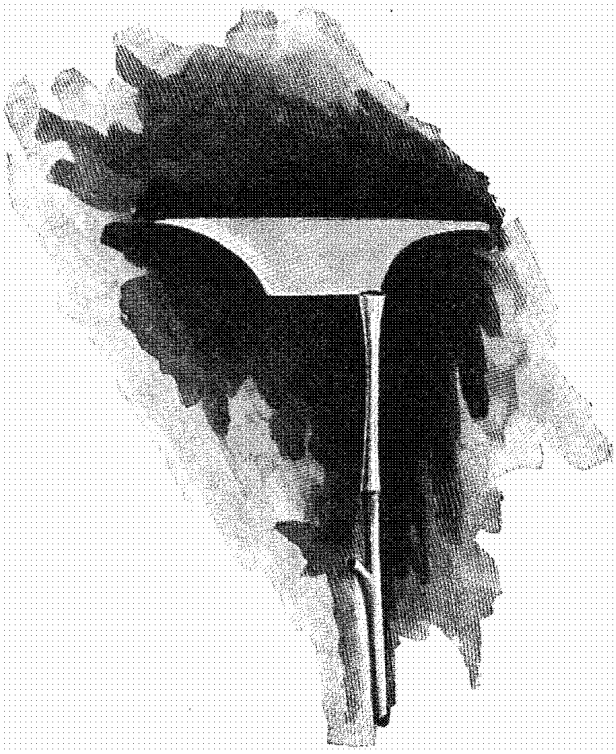


The Anda Monument in Manila.

it. There were strong traits of the modern man in this independent and incorruptible official. If he made many enemies, it is, perhaps, no less to the credit of his character; and if in the few years of his official life he was unable to restore the colony, it must be remembered that he had few assistants upon whom to rely and was without adequate means.

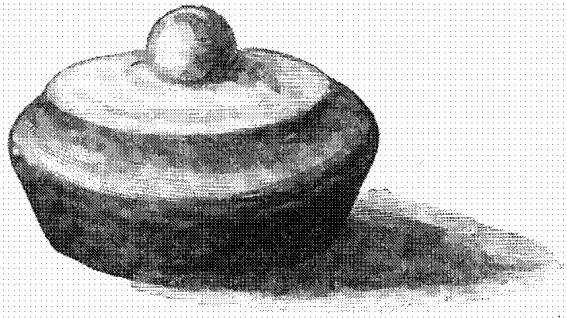
The Moro Pirates. — The Moros were again upon their forays, and in 1771 even attacked Aparri, on the extreme

northern coast of Luzon, and captured a Spanish missionary. Anda reorganized the Armada de Pintados, and toward the end of his life created also the Marina Sutil, a fleet of light gunboats for the defense of the coasts against the attacks of pirates.



Igorot Ax.

Failure of an English Settlement. — The hostility of the Moro rulers was complicated by the interference of the English, who, after the evacuation of Manila, continued to haunt the Sulu archipelago with the apparent object of effecting a settlement. By treaty with the Sulu sultan, they secured the cession of the island of Balambangan, off the north coast of Borneo. This island was fortified and a factory was established, but in 1775 the Moros attacked the English with great fury and destroyed the entire garrison, except the governor and five others, who escaped on board



Moro Gong.

a vessel, leaving a great quantity of arms and wealth to the spoils of the Moros. The English factors, who had taken up business on the island of Jolo, fled in a Chinese junk; and these events, so unfortunate to the English, ended their attempts to gain a position in the Sulu archipelago until many years later.

Increase in Agriculture. — Anda died in October, 1776, and his successor, Don José Basco y Vargas, was not appointed until July, 1778. With Basco's governorship we see the beginning of those numerous projects for the encouragement of agriculture and industry which characterized the last century of Spanish rule. His "*Plan general economico*" contemplated the encouragement of cotton-planting, the propagation of mulberry-trees and silk-worms, and the cultivation of spices and sugar. Premiums were offered for success in the introduction of these new products and for the encouragement of manufacturing industries suitable to the country and its people.

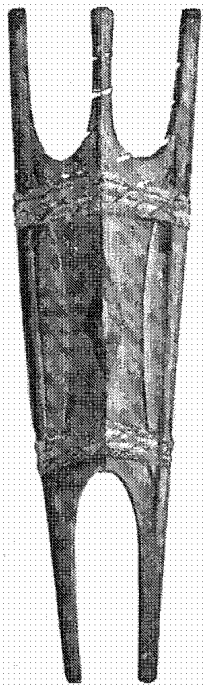
Out of these plans grew the commendable *Sociedad Economica de Amigos del País*, which was founded by Basco in 1780. The idea was an excellent one, and the society, although suffering long periods of inactivity, lasted for fully a century, and from time to time was useful in the improvement and development of the country, and stimulated agricultural experiments through its premiums and awards.

Establishment of the Tobacco Industry. — Up to this time the Philippine revenues had been so unproductive that the government was largely supported by a subsidy of 250,000 pesos a year paid by Mexico. Basco was the first to put the revenues of the Islands upon a lucrative basis. To him was due the establishment, in 1782, of the famous tobacco monopoly (*estanco de tabacos*) which be-

came of great importance many years later, as new and rich tobacco lands like the Cagayan were brought under cultivation.

Igorot Drum.

Favorable Commercial Legislation. — The change in economic ideas, which had come over Europe through the liberalizing thought of the eighteenth century, is shown also by a most radical step to direct into new channels the commerce of the Philippines. This was the creation in 1785 of a great trading corporation with special privileges and crown protection, "The Royal Company of the Philippines."



Igorot Shield.

The company was given a complete monopoly of all the commerce between Spain and the Philippines, except the long-established direct traffic between Manila and Acapulco. All the old laws, designed to prevent the importation into the Peninsula of wares of the Orient, were swept away. Philippine products were exempted from all customs duty either on leaving Manila or entering Spain. The vessels of the company were permitted to visit the ports of China, and the ancient

and rigid prohibition, which prevented the merchants of Manila from trading with India and China, was removed.

Though still closing the Philippines against foreign trade, this step was a veritable revolution in the commercial legislation of the Philippines. Had the project been ably and heartily supported, it might have produced a development that would have advanced prosperity half a century; but the people of Manila did not welcome the opening of this new line of communication. The ancient commerce with Acapulco was a valuable monopoly to those who had the right to participate in it, and their attitude toward the new company was one either of indifference or hostility.

In 1789 the port of Manila was opened and made free to the vessels of all foreign nations for the space of three years, for the importation and sale exclusively of the wares of Asia; but the products of Europe, with the exception of Spain, were forbidden.

The Royal Company was rechartered in 1805, and enjoyed its monopoly until 1830, when its privileges lapsed and Manila was finally opened to the ships of foreign nations.

Conquest of the Igorot Provinces of Luzon. — Basco was a zealous governor and organized a number of military expeditions to occupy the Igorot country in the north. In 1785 the heathen Igorots of the missions of Paniqui and Ituy, or Nueva Vizcaya, revolted and had to be reconquered by a force of musketeers from Cagayan.

Conquest of the Batanes Islands. — Basco also effected the conquest of the Batanes Islands to the north of Luzon, establishing garrisons and definitely annexing them to the colony. The Dominican missionaries shortly before this

time had attempted to convert these islands to Christianity, but the poverty of the people and the fierceness of the typhoons which sweep these little islands prevented the cultivation of anything more than camotes and taro, and had made them unprofitable to hold. Basco was honored, however, for his reoccupation of these islands, and on his return to Spain, at the expiration of his governorship, received the title of "Count of the Conquest of the Batanes." [1]

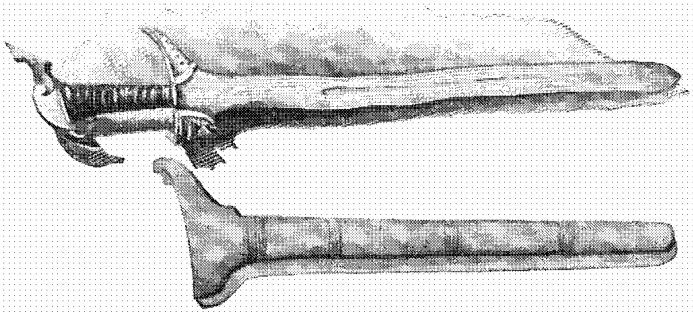
A Scientific Survey of the Coast of the Islands. — About 1790 the Philippines were visited by two Spanish frigates, the "Descubierta" and the "Atrevida," under the command of Captain Malaspina. These vessels formed an exploring expedition sent out by the Spanish government to make a hydrographic and astronomic survey of the coasts of Spanish America, the Ladrones, and the Philippines. It was one of those creditable enterprises for the widening of scientific knowledge which modern governments have conducted to their great honor.

The expedition charted the Strait of San Bernardino, the coasts of several of the Bisayan Islands, and Mindanao. One of the scientists of the party was the young botanist, Don Antonio Pineda, who died in Ilokos in 1792, but whose studies in the flora of the Philippines thoroughly established his reputation. A monument to his memory was erected near the church in Malate, but it has since suffered from neglect and is now falling in ruins.

Establishment of a Permanent Navy in the Philippines. — The intentions of England in this archipelago were still regarded with suspicion by the Spanish government, and

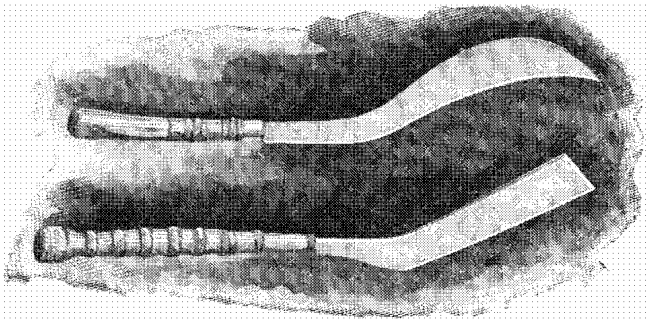
[1] These little islands have a dense population, but owing to their stormy situation, seem never to have been examined until the visit of the English freebooter, Dampier, in 1687.

in 1795 and 1796 a strong Spanish fleet, sent secretly by way of the coast of South America, was concentrated in the waters of the Philippines under the command of Admiral Álava. Its object was the defense of the Islands in case of a new war with Great Britain. News of the declaration of war between these two countries reached Manila in March, 1797, but though for many months there was anxiety, England made no attempt at reoccupation. These events led, however, to the formation of a permanent naval squadron, with headquarters and naval station at Cavite.[1]



Moro Kris and Sheath.

The Climax of Moro Piracy. — The continued presence of the Moros in Mindoro, where they haunted the bays and rivers of both east and west coasts

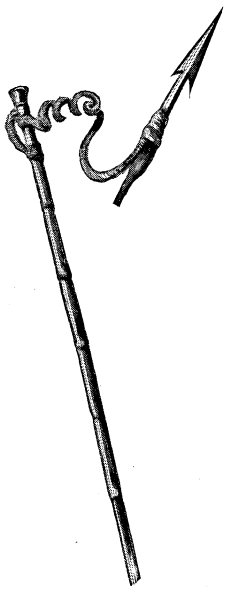


Moro Beheading Knives.

[1] Álava made a series of journeys through the different provinces of the Philippines, and on these trips he was accompanied by Friar Martinez de Zuñiga, whose narrative of these expeditions forms a most interesting and valuable survey of the conditions of the Islands and the people at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "*Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, ó mis viajes por este pais, por el Padre Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga. Publica esta obra por primera vez extensamente anotada W. E. Retana.*" 2 vols. Madrid, 1893.

for months at a time, stealing out from this island for attack in every direction, was specially noted by Padre Zuñiga, and indicated how feebly the Spaniards repulsed these pirates a hundred years ago.

It was the last severe phase of Malay piracy, when even the strong merchant ships of England and America dreaded the straits of Borneo and passed with caution through the China Sea. Northern Borneo, the Sulu archipelago, and the southern coasts of Mindanao were the centers from which came these fierce sea-wolves, whose cruel exploits have left their many traditions in the American and British merchant navies, just as they periodically appear in the chronicles of the Philippines.

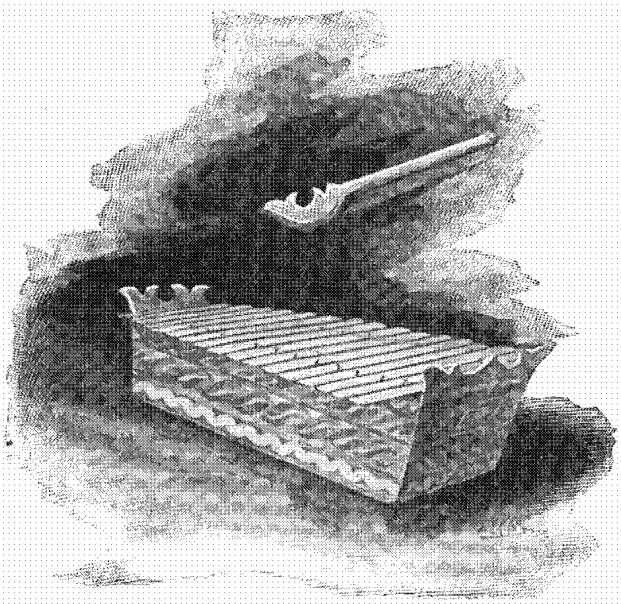


Moro Hunting Spear.

Five hundred captives annually seem to have been the spoils taken by these Moros in the Philippines Islands, and as far south as Batavia and Macassar captive Filipinos were sold in the slave marts of the Malays. The aged and infirm were inhumanly bartered to the savage tribes of Borneo, who offered them up in their ceremonial sacrifices. The measures of the Spanish government, though constant and expensive, were ineffective. Between 1778 and 1793, a million and a half of pesos were expended on the fleets and expeditions to drive back or punish the Moros, but at the end of the century a veritable climax of piracy was attained.

Pirates swarmed continually about the coasts of Min-

doro, Burias, and Masbate, and even frequented the esteros of Manila Bay. Some sort of peace seems to have been established with Jolo and a friendly commerce was engaged in toward the end of the century, but the Moros of Mindanao and Borneo were unceasing enemies. In 1798 a fleet of twenty-five Moro bankas passed up the Pacific coast of Luzon and fell upon the isolated towns of Baler, Casiguran, and Palanan, destroying the pueblos and taking 450 captives. The cura of Casiguran was ransomed in Binangonan for the sum of twenty-five hundred pesos. For four years this pirate fleet had its rendezvous on Burias, whence it raided the adjacent coasts and the Catanduanes.



Moro "Gabang" or Xylophone.

The Great Wars in America and Europe. — The English reoccupied Balambangan in 1803, but held the island for only three years, when it was definitely abandoned. For some years, however, the coasts of the Philippines were threatened by English vessels, and there was reflected here in the Far East the tremendous conflicts which were convulsing Europe at this time. The wars which changed Europe at the close of the eighteenth century, following the French Revolution, form one of the most important and interesting periods of European history, but it is also one of the most difficult periods to judge and de-

scribe. We will say of it here only so much as will be sufficient to show the effect upon Spain and so upon the Philippines.

The Revolution of the English Colonies in America. — In 1776 the thirteen English colonies on the Atlantic coast of North America declared their independence of Great Britain. In the unfair treatment of the British king and Parliament they had, they believed, just grounds for revolution. For nearly eight years a war continued by which England strove to reduce them again to obedience. But at the end of that time England, having successively lost two armies of invasion by defeat and capture, made peace with the American colonists and recognized their independence. In 1789 the Americans framed their present constitution and established the United States of America.

The French Revolution. — *Condition of the People in France.* — In their struggle for independence the Americans had been aided by France, who hoped through this opportunity to cripple her great colonial rival, England. Between America and France there was close sympathy of political ideas and theories, although in their actual social conditions the two countries were as widely separated as could be. In America the society and government were democratic. All classes were experienced in politics and government. They had behind them the priceless heritage of England's long struggle for free and representative government. There was an abundance of the necessaries of life and nearly complete freedom of opportunity.

France, like nearly every other country of continental Europe, was suffering from the obsolete burden of feudalism. The ownership of the land was divided between the aristocracy and the church. The great bulk of the

population were serfs bound to the estates, miserably oppressed, and suffering from lack of food, and despoiled of almost every blessing which can brighten and dignify human life. The life of the court and of the nobility grew more luxurious, extravagant, and selfish as the economic conditions in France became worse. The king was nearly an absolute monarch. His will was law and the earlier representative institutions, which in England had developed into the splendid system of parliamentary government, had in France fallen into decay.

In the other countries of Europe — the German States, Austria, Italy, and Spain — the condition of the people was quite as bad, probably in some places even worse than it was in France. But it was in France that the revolt broke forth, and it was France which led Europe in a movement for a better and more democratic order. Frenchmen had fought in the armies of America; they had experienced the benefits of a freer society, and it is significant that in the same year (1789) that saw the founding of the American state the Revolution in France began. It started in a sincere and conservative attempt to remedy the evils under which France was suffering, but the accumulation of injustice and misery was too great to be settled by slow and hesitating measures. The masses, ignorant, and bitter with their wrongs, broke from the control of statesman and reformer, threw themselves upon the established state and church, both equally detestable to them, and tore them to pieces. Both king and queen died by beheading. The nobility were either murdered or expelled. The revolutionary government, if such it could be called, fell into the hands of wicked and terrible leaders, who maintained themselves by murder and terrorism.

Effects of the Revolution. — These are the outward and terrible expressions of the Revolution which were seized upon by European statesmen and which have been most dwelt upon by historical writers. But, apart from the bloody acts of the years from 1793 to 1795, the Revolution modernized France and brought incalculable gains to the French people. By the seizure of the great estates and their division among the peasantry, the agricultural products of the country were doubled in a single year, and that terrible condition of semi-starvation which had prevailed for centuries was ended.

The other monarchies of Europe regarded the events in France with horror and alarm. Monarchs felt their own thrones threatened, and a coalition of European monarchies was formed to destroy the republic and to restore the French monarchy and old régime. France found herself invaded by armies upon every frontier. It was then that the remarkable effects produced by the Revolution upon the people of France appeared.

With a passionate enthusiasm which was irresistible, the people responded to the call for war; great armies were enlisted, which by an almost uninterrupted series of victories threw back the forces of the allies. Men rose from positions of obscurity to the command of armies, and there was developed a famous group of revolutionary generals. Out of this long period of warfare there arose, too, another, who was perhaps, if we except the Macedonian king, Alexander, the greatest man ever permitted to lead armies and to rule men — Bonaparte, later the emperor, Napoleon the First.

France and Europe under Napoleon Bonaparte. — From 1795, when Bonaparte was given command of the invasion of Italy, until 1815, when he was finally defeated

at Waterloo in Belgium, Europe experienced almost continuous war. The genius of Napoleon reduced to the position of vassal states Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Germany, and Austria. In all these European countries the ancient thrones were humbled, feudalism was swept away, and the power of an oppressive society was broken. In spite of the humiliation of national pride, these great benefits to Europe of Napoleon's conquests can not be overestimated. Wherever Napoleon's power extended there followed the results of the Revolution—a better system of law, the introduction of the liberal "Code Napoleon," the liberation of the people from the crushing toils of mediævalism, and the founding of a better society. These are the debts which Europe owes to the French Revolution.

The Decline of Spain. — *Lack of Progress.* — In this advance and progress Spain did not share. The empire of Napoleon was never established in the Peninsula. In 1811 the Spaniards, with the assistance of the English under the great general, Wellington, repulsed the armies of the French. This victory, so gratifying to national pride, was perhaps a real loss to Spain, for the reforms which prevailed in other parts of Europe were never carried out in Spain, and she remains even yet unliberated from aristocratic and clerical power.

A liberal constitutional government was, however, set up in Spain in 1812 by the Cortes; but in 1814 King Ferdinand VII., aided by the Spanish aristocracy and clergy, was able to overthrow this representative government and with tyrannical power to cast reforms aside. Fifty thousand people were imprisoned for their liberal opinions, the Inquisition was restored, the Cortes abolished, and its acts nullified. The effect of these acts upon the Philippines will be noticed presently.

Separation of the Philippines from Mexico. — The events of these years served to separate the Philippines from their long dependency on Mexico. In 1813 the Cortes decreed the suppression of the subsidized Acapulco galleon. The Mexican trade had long been waning and voyages had become less profitable. The last of the galleons left Manila in 1811 and returned from Acapulco in 1815, never again to attempt this classical voyage.

The cessation of these voyages only briefly preceded the complete separation from America. From the first period of settlement, the Philippines had in many respects been a dependency of the New World. Mexico had until late afforded the only means of communication with the mother-country, the only land of foreign trade. Mexican officials frequently administered the government of the Islands, and Mexican Indians formed the larger part of the small standing army of the Philippines, including the "Regiment of the King." As we have seen, a large subsidy, the *situado,* was annually drawn from the Mexican treasury to assist the deficient revenues of the Philippines.

Rebellion of the South American Countries. — But the grievances of the Spanish American colonists were very great and very real. The revolution which had successively stirred North America and Europe now passed back again to the Spanish countries of the New World, and between 1810 and 1825 they fought themselves free of Spain. The last of the colonies from which the Spaniards were forced to retire was Peru. Mexico achieved her separation in 1820. Spain lost every possession upon the mainland of both Americas, and the only vestiges of her once vast American empire were the rich islands of the Greater Antilles — Cuba and Porto Rico.

Limited Trade with the Philippines. — The Philippines were now forced to communicate by ship directly with Spain. The route for the next fifty years lay by sailing-vessels around the Cape of Good Hope. It occupied from four to six months, but this route had now become practically a neutral passage, its winds and currents were well understood, and it was annually followed by great numbers of vessels of Europe, England, and the United States.

Trade was still limited to the ships of the Royal Philippine Company, and this shipping monopoly lasted until 1835, when a new era in the commercial and industrial life of the Philippines opened. An English commercial house was established in Manila as early as 1809.

Volcanic Eruptions. — The terrible eruptions of Mount Taal, the last of which occurred in 1754, were followed in the next century by the destructive activity of Mount Mayon. In 1814 an indescribable eruption of ashes and lava occurred, and the rich hemp towns around the base of this mountain were destroyed. Father Francisco Aragoneses, cura of Cagsaua, an eye-witness, states that twelve thousand people perished; in the church of Budiao alone two hundred lay dead.[1]

Rebellions in the Philippines. — *The Liberal Spanish Cortes.* — Two revolts in the Philippines that occurred at this period are of much importance and show the effect in the Philippines of the political changes in Spain. In 1810 the liberal Spanish Cortes had declared that "the kingdoms and provinces of America and Asia are, and ought to have been always, reputed an integral part of the Spanish monarchy, and for that same, their natives

[1] Jagor: *Viajes por Filipinas*, p. 81. Translated from the German. Madrid, 1895.

and free inhabitants are equal in rights and privileges to those of the Peninsula."

This important declaration, which if carried out would have completely revolutionized Spain's colonial policy, was published in the Philippines, and with that remarkable and interesting facility by which such news is spread, even among the least educated classes of Filipinos, this proclamation had been widely disseminated and discussed throughout the Islands. It was welcomed by the Filipino with great satisfaction, because he believed it exempted him from the enforced labor of the *polos y servicios.* These were the unremunerated tasks required of Filipinos for the construction of public works, bridges, roads, churches, and convents.

Effect of the Repeal of the Declaration of the Cortes. — King Ferdinand VII. in May, 1814, on his return to power, as we have seen, published the famous decree abolishing constitutional government in Spain and annulling all the acts of the Cortes, including those which aimed to liberalize the government of the colonies. These decrees, when published in the Philippines, appeared to the Filipinos to return them to slavery, and in many places their disaffection turned to rebellion. In Ilokos twelve hundred men banded together, sacked convents and churches, and destroyed the books and documents of the municipal archives. Their fury seems to have been particularly directed against the petty tyrants of their own race, the *caciques* or *principales.*

The result of Spanish civilization in the Philippines had been to educate, and, to a certain degree, enrich a small class of Filipinos, usually known as *distinguidos* or the *gente ilustrada.* It is this class which has absorbed the direction of municipal and local affairs, and which almost

alone of the Filipino population has shared in those benefits and opportunities which civilized life should bring.

The vast majority of the population have, unfortunately, fallen or remained in a dependent and almost semi-servile position beneath the principales. In Ilokos this subordinate class, or *dependientes*, is known as *kailian*, and it was these kailian who now fell upon their more wealthy masters, burning their houses and destroying their property, and in some instances killing them. The assignment of compulsory labor had been left to the principales in their positions as gobernadorcillos and cabezas de barangay, and these officials had unquestionably abused their power and had drawn down upon themselves the vengeance of the kailian.[1]

This revolt, it will be noticed, was primarily directed neither against friars nor Spanish authorities, but against the unfortunate social order which the rule of Spain maintained.

A Revolt Led by Spaniards. — A plot, with far more serious motives, took place in 1823. The official positions in the regiments and provinces had previously been held almost entirely by Spaniards born in America or the Philippines. The government now attempted to fill these positions with Spaniards from Spain. The officials, deprived of their positions, incited the native troops which they had commanded, into a revolt, which began in the walled city in Manila. About eight hundred soldiers followed them, and they gained possession of the Cuartel of the King, of the Royal Palace, and of the Cabildo, but they failed to seize the fortress of Santiago.

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[1] See *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842*, by D. Sinibaldo de Mas.

It was not properly a revolt of Filipinos, as the people were not involved and did not rise, but it had its influence in inciting later insurrection.

Insurrection on Bohol. — Since the insurrection on Bohol in 1744, when the natives had killed the Jesuit missionaries, a large part of the island had been practically independent under the leader Dagóhoy. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Recollects were placed in special charge of those towns along the seacoast, which had remained loyal to Spain. An effort was made to secure the submission of the rebels by the proclamation of a pardon, but the power of the revolt grew rather than declined, until in 1827 it was determined to reduce the rebellion by force. An expedition of thirty-two hundred men was formed in Cebu, and in April, 1828, the campaign took place, which resulted in the defeat of the rebels and their settlement in the Christian towns.

The New Provinces of Benguet and Abra. — It is proper to notice also the slow advances of Spanish authority, which began to be made about this time among the heathen tribes of northern Luzon. These fierce and powerful tribes occupy the entire range of the Cordillera Central. Missionary effort in the latter half of the eighteenth century had succeeded in partly Christianizing the tribes along the river Magat in Neuva Vizcaya, but the fierce, head-hunting hillmen remained unsubdued and unchristianized.

Between 1823 and 1829 the mission of Pidigan, under an Augustinian friar, Christianized some thousands of the Tingians of the river Abra. In 1829 an expedition of about sixty soldiers, under Don Guillermo Galvey, penetrated into the cool, elevated plateau of Benguet. The diary of the leader recounts the difficult march up the river Cagaling from Aringay and their delight upon emer-

ging from the jungle and cogon upon the grassy, pine-timbered slopes of the plateau.[1]

They saw little cultivated valleys and small clusters of houses and splendid herds of cattle, carabaos, and horses, which to this day have continued to enrich the people of these mountains. At times they were surrounded by the yelling bands of Igorots, and several times they had to repulse attacks, but they nevertheless succeeded in reaching the beautiful circular depression now known as the valley of La Trinidad.

The Spaniards saw with enthusiasm the carefully separated and walled fields, growing camotes, taro, and sugar-cane. The village of about five hundred houses was partly burned by the Spaniards, as the Igorots continued hostile. The expedition returned to the coast, having suffered only a few wounds.. The comandancia of Benguet was created in 1846, in which year also Abra was organized as a province.

[1] This account is printed in Mas' "*Informe*" (*Estado*, etc.), perhaps the most acute and intelligent account of conditions in the Islands made by any writer of the nineteenth century. Two volumes were published in Madrid in 1842, and a third volume, which is very rare, was secretly circulated. The full title is as follows: *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en* 1842 *escrito por el autor del Aristodemo*, etc.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS AND REVOLUTION.

1837–1897.

Progress during the Last Half-Century of Spanish Rule.—We have now come to the last half-century and to the last phase of Spanish rule. In many respects this period was one of economic and social progress, and contained more of promise than any other in the history of the Islands. During this last half-century the Spanish rulers had numerous plans for the development and better administration of the Philippines, and, in spite of a somewhat wavering policy and the continual sore of official peculation, this was a period of wonderful advancement. Revolution and separation from Spain came at last, as revolutions usually do, not because there was no effort nor movement for reform, but because progress was so discouragingly slow and so irritatingly blocked by established interests that desired no change.

Effect of Opening the Port of Manila to Foreign Trade.—*Increase in Agriculture.*—The opening of the port of Manila to foreign trade, in 1837, was followed by a period of rising industry and prosperity. Up to this time the archipelago had not been a country producing for export, but the freeing of trade led to the raising of great harvests for foreign export, which have made world-wide the fame of certain Philippine productions. Chief among these are of course Manila hemp and tobacco. These were followed by sugar and coffee culture, the latter plant enriching the province of Batangas, while the planting of

new cocoanut groves yearly made of greater importance the yield of that excellent product, copra. These rich merchandises had entered very little into commerce during the early decades of the century.

Increase in Exports. — In 1810 the entire imports of the Philippines amounted in value to 5,329,000 dollars, but more than half of this consisted of silver sent from Mexico. From Europe and the United States trade amounted to only 175,000 dollars. The exports in the same year amounted to 4,795,000 dollars, but a million and a half of this was Mexican silver exported on to China, and the whole amount of exports to Europe and the United States was only 250,000 dollars.

In 1831 the exportation of hemp amounted to only 346 tons. But the effect upon production of opening Manila to foreign trade is seen in the export six years later of 2,585 tons. By 1858 the exportation of hemp had risen to 412,000 piculs, or 27,500 tons. Of this amount, nearly two thirds, or 298,000 piculs, went to the United States. At this time the North Atlantic seaboard of America was the center of a most active ship-building and ship-carrying trade. The American flag was conspicuous among the vessels that frequented these Eastern ports, and "Manila hemp" was largely sought after by American seamen to supply the shipyards at home. Of sugar, the export in 1858 amounted to 557,000 piculs, of which more than half went to Great Britain.

After 1814 general permission had been given to foreigners to establish trading-houses in Manila, and by 1858 there were fifteen such establishments, of which seven were English and three American.[1]

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[1] Bowring: *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, p. 387.

Other Ports Opened to Foreign Commerce. — In 1855 three other ports were opened to foreign commerce — Sual in Pangasinan on the Gulf of Lingayén, Iloilo, and Zamboanga. In 1863, Cebu likewise was made an open port. The exports of Sual consisted only of rice, and in spite of its exceptional harbor this port never flourished, and is to-day no more than an unfrequented village.

Iloilo exported leaf tobacco, sugar, sapan or dyewood (an industry long ago ruined), hemp, and hides. Zamboanga through the Chinese had a small trade with Jolo and the Moro Islands, and exported the produce of these seas — sea-slug (tripang), shark fins, mother-of-pearl, tortoise shell, etc. For some years the customs laws in these ports were trying and vexatious, and prevented full advantage being taken of the privileges of export; but in 1869 this service was, by royal decree, greatly liberalized and improved. Since that date the Philippines have steadily continued to grow in importance in the commercial world.

The Form of Government under the Spanish. — *General Improvements.* — This is perhaps a convenient place to examine for the last time the political system which the Spaniards maintained in the country. In 1850 there were thirty-four provinces and two politico-military comandancias. In these provinces the Spanish administration was still vested solely in the alcalde mayor, who until after 1886 was both governor or executive officer and the judge or court for the trial of provincial cases and crimes.

Many of the old abuses which had characterized the government of the alcaldes had been at least partially remedied. After 1844 they had no longer the much-abused monopoly privilege of trade, nor had they as free

a hand in controlling the labor of the inhabitants; but opportunities for illegal enrichment existed in the administration of the treasury and tax system, and these opportunities were not slighted. Up to the very end of Spanish rule the officials, high and low, are accused of stealing public money.

The Pueblo. — The unit of administration was the pueblo, or township, which ordinarily embraced many square miles of country and contained numerous villages, or "barrios." The center of the town was naturally the site where for centuries had stood the great church and the convent of the missionary friars. These locations had always been admirably chosen, and about them grew up the market and trading-shops of Chinese and the fine and durable homes of the more prosperous Filipinos and mestizos.

About 1860 the government began to concern itself with the construction of public buildings and improvements, and the result is seen in many pueblos in the finely laid-out plazas and well-built municipal edifices grouped about the square — the "tribunal," or town house, the jail, and the small but significant schoolhouses. The government of the town was vested in a "gobernadorcillo" and a council, each of the "concejales" usually representing a hamlet or barrio.

But the Spanish friar, who in nearly every pueblo was the parish curate, continued to be the paternal guardian and administrator of the pueblo. In general, no matter was too minute for his dictation. Neither gobernadorcillo nor councillors dared act in opposition to his wishes, and the alcalde of the province was careful to keep on friendly terms and leave town affairs largely to his dictation. The friar was the local inspector of public instruc-

tion and ever vigilant to detect and destroy radical ideas. To the humble Filipino, the friar was the visible and only representative of Spanish authority.

The Revolt of 1841. — *Repression of the People by the Friars.* — Unquestionably in the past, the work of the friars had been of very great value; but men as well as institutions may lose their usefulness, as conditions change, and the time was now approaching when the autocratic and paternal régime of the friars no longer satisfied the Filipinos. The friars were no longer disinterested, and their work had become materialized by the possession of considerable estates where their spiritual charges lived and labored as tenants or dependents. The policy of the religious orders had, in fact, become one of repression, and as the aspirations of the Filipinos increased, the friars, filled with doubt and fear, tried to draw still tighter the bonds of their own authority, and viewed with growing distrust the rising ambition of the people.

Apolinario de la Cruz. — An unfortunate revolution of 1841 shows the wayward and misdirected enthusiasm of the Filipino; and the unwisdom of the friars. Apolinario de la Cruz, a young Filipino, a native of Lukban, Tayabas, came up to Manila filled with the ambition to lead a monastic life, and engaged in theological studies. By his attendance upon lectures and sermons and by imitation of the friar preachers of Manila, Apolinario became, himself, quite an orator, and, as subsequent events showed, was able to arouse great numbers of his own people by his appeals.

It was his ambition to enter one of the regular monastic orders, but this religious privilege was never granted to Filipinos, and he was refused. He then entered a

brotherhood known as the Cofradia, or Brotherhood of San Juan de Dios, composed entirely of Filipinos. After some years in this brotherhood, he returned in 1840 to Tayabas and founded the Cofradia de San José, his aim being to form a special cult in honor of Saint Joseph and the Virgin. For this he requested authorization from Manila. It was here that the lack of foresight of the friars appeared.

The Opposition of the Friars.— Instead of sympathizing with these religious aspirations, in which, up to this point, there seems to have been nothing heretical, they viewed the rise of a Filipino religious leader with alarm. Their policy never permitted to the Filipino any position that was not strictly subordinate. They believed that the permanence of Spanish power in these islands lay in suppressing any latent ability for leadership in the Filipino himself. Their influence, consequently, was thrown against Apolinario, and the granting of the authority for his work. They secured not only a condemnation of his plan, but an order for the arrest and imprisonment of all who should attend upon his preaching.

Apolinario Forced to Rebel. — Apolinario thereupon took refuge in independent action. His movement had already become a strong one, and his followers numbered several thousand people of Laguna, Tayabas, and Batangas. The governor of Tayabas province, Don Joaquin Ortega, organized an expedition to destroy the schism. Accompanied by two Franciscan friars, he attacked Apolinario in the month of October, 1840, and was defeated and killed. One account says that Apolinario was assisted by a band of Negritos, whose bowmanship was destructive. There are still a very few of these little blacks in the woods in the vicinity of Lukban.

Apolinario was now in the position of an open rebel, and he fortified himself in the vicinity of Alitao, where he built a fort and chapel.

His religious movement became distinctly independent and heretical. A church was formed, of which he was first elected archbishop and then supreme pontiff. He was also charged with having assumed the title of "King of the Tagálogs."

Finally a force under the new alcalde, Vital, and General Huet early in November attacked Apolinario's stronghold, and after a fierce struggle defeated the revolutionists. About a thousand Filipinos perished in the final battle. Apolinario was captured and executed. He was then twenty-seven years of age.

Organization of Municipal Governments. — In 1844 an able and liberal governor, General Clavería, arrived, and remained until the end of the year 1849. A better organization of the provincial governments, which we have seen, followed Clavería's entrance into office, and in October, 1847, came the important decree, organizing the municipalities in the form which we have already described, and which remained without substantial modification to the end of Spanish rule, and which has to a considerable extent been followed in the Municipal Code framed by the American government.

Subjection of the Igorot Tribes. — With Clavería began a decisive policy of conquest among the Igorot tribes of northern Luzon, and by the end of Spanish rule these mountains were dotted with cuartels and missions for the control of these unruly tribes. The province of Nueva Vizcaya has been particularly subject to the raids of these head-hunting peoples. Year after year the Christian towns of the plains had yielded a distressing

sacrifice of life to satisfy the savage ceremonials of the Igorots.[1]

In 1847, Clavería nominated as governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Don Mariano Ozcariz, whose severe and telling conquests for the first time checked these Igorot outrages and made possible the development of the great valleys of northern Luzon.

Spanish Settlements on Mindanao. — *Zamboanga.* — With Clavería's governorship we enter also upon the last phase of Moro piracy. In spite of innumerable expeditions, Spain's occupation of South Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago was limited to the presidio of Zamboanga. She had occupied this strategic point continuously since the reëstablishment of Spanish power in 1763. The strong stone fort, which still stands, had proved impregnable to Moro attack, and had long been unmolested.

Distributed for a distance of some miles over the rich lands at this end of the Zamboanga peninsula was a Christian population, which had grown up largely from the descendants of rescued captives of the Moros. Coming originally from all parts of the Bisayas, Calamianes, and Luzon, this mixed population has grown to have a somewhat different character from that of any other part of the Islands. A corrupt Spanish dialect, known as the "Chabucano," has become the common speech, the only instance in the Philippines where the native dialect has been supplanted. This population, loyal and devotedly Catholic, never failed to sustain the defense of this iso-

[1] The reports of the Dominican missionaries of Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela show the extent and persistence of these raids. (See the files of the missionary publication, *El Correo Sino-Annamita,* and also the work by Padre Buenaventura Campa, *Los Mayoyaos y la Raza Ifugao,* Madrid, 1895.

lated Spanish outpost, and contributed brave volunteers to every expedition against the Moro islands.

Activity of Other Nations.—But Spain's maintenance of Zamboanga was insufficient to sustain her claims of sovereignty over the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi groups. Both the Dutch and English planned various moves for their occupation and acquisition, and in 1844 a French fleet entered the archipelago and concluded a treaty with the sultan of Sulu for the cession of the island of Basilan for the sum of one million dollars. Writings of the French minister and historian, M. Guizot, show that France hoped, by the acquisition of this island, to obtain a needed naval base in the East and found a great commercial port within the sphere of Chinese trade.[1]

Conquest of the Gulf of Davao.—But this step roused the Spaniards to activity and the occupation of the island. A naval vessel subdued the towns along the north coast, and then proceeding to the mouth of the Rio Grande, secured from the sultan of Magindanao the cession of the fine Gulf of Davao. Spain took no immediate steps to occupy this gulf, but in 1847 a Spaniard, Don José Oyanguran, proposed to the governor, Clavería, to conquer the region at his own expense, if he could be furnished with artillery and munitions and granted a ten years' government of Davao, with the exclusive privilege of trade.

His offer was accepted by the governor and the Audiencia, and Oyanguran organized a company to secure funds for the undertaking. In two years' time he had subdued the coast regions of this gulf, expelled the pirates who harbored there, and founded the settlement of Nueva

[1] Montero y Vidal: *Historia de Filipinas,* vol. III., p. 99.

Vergara. He seems to have been making progress toward the conquest and commercial exploitation of this region, when jealous attacks in Manila induced Governor Urbiztondo to cancel his privilege and to relieve him by an officer of the government.

In subsequent years the Jesuits had a few mission stations here and made a few converts among the Bagobos; but the region until much later remained unsubdued and unutilized, its inhabitants mainly pagan tribes, and its rich agricultural possibilities undeveloped and unclaimed.

The Samal Pirates. — *The Sulu.* — The piratical inhabitants of the Sulu archipelago comprise two distinct Malayan peoples — the Sulu (or Sulug), and the Samal, who are known throughout Malaysia as the "Bajau" or "Orang laut" (Men of the Sea). The former appear to be the older inhabitants. They occupy the rich and populous island of Jolo and some islands of the Siassi group, immediately south.

The Samal. — The Samal, or Bajau, are stated to have come originally from Johore. Many of them live almost exclusively in their boats, passing their lives from birth to death upon the sea. They are found throughout most parts of Malaysia, the position of their little fleets changing with the shifting of the monsoons. In the Sulu archipelago and a few points in South Mindanao, many of these Samal have shifted their homes from their boats to the shore. Their villages are built on piles over the sea, and on many of the low coral reefs south of Siassi and east of Tawi-Tawi there are real towns or settlements which have apparently been in existence a long while.

Fifty years ago the Samal were very numerous in the many islands between Jolo and Basilan, and this group is

still known as the Islas Samales. Like the Sulu and other Malays, the Samal are Mohammedans, and scarcely less persistent pirates than their fellow-Malays. With the decline of piratical power among the Sulu of Jolo, the focus of piracy shifted to these settlements of the Samal, and in the time of Clavería the worst centers were the islands of Balangingi and Tonkil, lying just north of the island of Jolo. From here pirate and slaving raids upon the Bisayan Islands continued to be made, and nearly every year towns were sacked and burned and several hundred unfortunate captives carried away. The captives were destined for slavery, and regular marts existed for this traffic at Jolo and on the Bay of Sandakan in Borneo.

Arrival of Steam Warships. — In 1848 the Philippines secured the first steam war vessels. These were the "Magallanes," the "Elcano," and the "Reina de Castilla." They were destined to revolutionize Moro relations.

The Destruction of the Samal Forts. — Hitherto it had been possible for the great Moro war praus, manned by many oarsmen, to drop their masts on the approach of an armed sailing-vessel, and, turning toward the "eye of the wind," where no sailing-ship could pursue, row calmly away from danger. Steam alone was effective in combating these sea-wolves. Clavería took these newly arrived ships, and with a strong force of infantry, which was increased by Zamboangueño volunteers, he entered the Samal group in February, 1848, and landed on the island of Balangingi.

There were four fortresses situated in the mangrove marshes of the island. These, in spite of a desperate resistance, were carried by the infantry and Zamboangueños, and the pirates scattered. The conduct of the campaign appears to have been admirable and the fighting

heroic. The Moros were completely overwhelmed; 450 dead were burned or interred; 124 pieces of artillery—for the most part, the small brass cannon called "lantakas"—were captured, and 150 Moro boats were destroyed. The Spaniards cut down the cocoanut groves, and with spoil that included such rich pirate loot as silks, silver vases, ornaments, and weapons of war, and with over two hundred prisoners and three hundred rescued captives, returned to Zamboanga. This was the most signal victory ever won by Europeans in conflict with Malay piracy. The effectiveness of this campaign is shown by the fact that while in the preceding year 450 Filipinos had suffered capture at the hands of Moro pirates, in 1848 and the succeeding year there was scarcely a depredation. But in 1850 a pirate squadron from Tonkil, an island adjacent to Balangingi, fell upon Samar and Kamagin. Fortunately, Governor Urbiztondo, who had succeeded Clavería, vigorously continued the policy of his predecessor, and an expedition was promptly dispatched which destroyed the settlements and strongholds on Tonkil.

Destruction of the Moro Forts at Jolo.— A year later war broke out again with Jolo, and after a varied interchange of negotiations and hostilities, the Spaniards stormed and took the town in February, 1851. The question of permanent occupation of this important site was debated by a council of war, but their forces appearing unequal to the task, the forts of the Moros were destroyed, and the expedition returned. Jolo is described at this time as a very strongly guarded situation. Five forts and a double line of trenches faced the shore. The Moro town is said to have contained about seven thousand souls, and there was a barrio of Chinese traders, who numbered about five hundred.

Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. — A few months later the governor of Zamboanga concluded a treaty with the sultan of Sulu by which the archipelago was to be considered an incorporated part of the Spanish possessions. The sultan bound himself to make no further treaties with or cessions to foreign powers, to suppress piracy, and to fly the Spanish flag. The Moros were guaranteed the practice of their religion, the succession of the sultan and his descendants in the established order, boats of Jolo were to enjoy the same trading privileges in Spanish ports as other Filipino vessels, and the sultan retained the right to all customs duties on foreign trading-vessels. Finally, "in compensation for the damages of war," the sultan was to be paid an annual subsidy of 1,500 pesos and 600 pesos each to three datos and 360 pesos to a sherif. [1]

The End of Malay Piracy. — In these very years that Malay piracy was receiving such severe blows from the recuperating power and activity of the Spanish government on the north, it was crushed also from the south by the adventurous enterprise of an Englishman, the Raja James Brooke of Sarawak. The sources of pirate depredation were Magindanao, the Sulu archipelago, and the north and west coasts of the great island of Borneo. We have seen how these fleets, century after century, swept northward and wasted with fire and murder the fair islands of the Philippines.

But this archipelago was not alone in suffering these ravages. The peaceful trading inhabitants of the great island groups to the south were persistently visited and despoiled. Moreover, as the Chinese trade by the Cape of

[1] Montero y Vidal: *Historia de Filipinas,* vol. III., p. 209. The document is given in Appendix 4 of the same volume.

Good Hope route became established in the first half of the nineteenth century, these pirates became a great menace to European shipping. They swarmed the China Sea, and luckless indeed was the ship carried too far eastward on its course. Every American schoolboy is familiar with the stories of fierce hand-to-hand struggles with Malay pirates, which have come down from those years when the American flag was seen everywhere in the ports of the Far East.

About 1839 a young English officer,[1] who had been in the Indian service, James Brooke, having armed and equipped a yacht of about 140 tons, set sail for the coast of Borneo, with the avowed intent of destroying Malay piracy and founding an independent state. In all the romantic stories of the East there is no career of greater daring than that of this man. In 1841, having engaged in several bloody exploits, Brooke forced from the sultan of Borneo the cession of Sarawak, with the government vested in himself as an independent raja.

Brooke devoted himself with unrelenting persistence to the destruction of the pirates in the deep bays and swampy rivers, whence they had so long made their excursions. Later he was assisted by the presence of the English man-of-war "Dido," and in 1847 the sultan of Brunei ceded to Great Britain the island of Labuan. In 1849, Brooke visited Zamboanga in the English man-of-war "Mœander," and concluded a treaty with the sultan of Sulu, which naturally alarmed the Spaniards.

Brooke's private correspondence shows that he was ambitious and hopeful of acquiring for England parts of the Dutch possessions in the south and the Spanish Philip-

[1] See *Rajah Brooke*, by Sir Spencer St. John, London, 1899.

pines in the north; but his plans were never followed up by England, although in 1887 North Borneo was ceded to an English company, and all the northern and eastern portions of this great island are now under English protection.[1]

Liberal Ideas among the Filipinos. — The release from Moro piracy, the opening of foreign commerce, and the development of agricultural production were rapidly bringing about a great change in the aspirations of the Filipino people themselves. Nearly up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Filipinos had suffered complete isolation from the life and thought of the modern world. But the revolutionary changes in Europe and the struggles for constitutional government in Spain had their influence, even in these far-away Spanish possessions. Spaniards of liberal ideas, some of them in official positions, found their way to the Islands, and an agitation began, originating among Spaniards themselves, against the paternal powers of the friars.

Influence of the Press. — The growth of periodic literature accelerated this liberalizing movement. The press, though suffering a severe censorship, has played a large part in shaping recent thought in these islands and in communicating to the Filipino people those ideas and purposes which ever inspire and elevate men.[2] The first newspaper to make its appearance in the Philippines was in 1822 — "El Philantropo"; but journalism assumed no

[1] Keppel: *Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy, with extracts from the Journal of James Brooke, Esq.* 2 vols. London, 1846. Keppel: *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H. M. S. Mœandar.* 2 vols. London, 1853.

[2] Spain established a permanent commission of censorship in 1856. It was composed of eight persons, one half nominated by the governor and one half by the archbishop.

real importance until the forties, when there were founded "Semanario Filipino" (1843), and almost immediately after several others — "El Amigo de Pais" (1845), "La Estrella" (1846), and "La Esperanza" (1847), the first daily. These were followed by "Diario de Manila" (1848); in 1858 "El Comercio" appeared, the oldest of the papers still in existence.[1]

Papers conducted by Filipinos and in the Filipino tongues are of more recent origin, but these early Spanish periodicals had a real effect upon the Filipinos themselves, training up a class familiar with the conduct of journalism and preparing a way for the very influential work of the Filipino press in recent years.

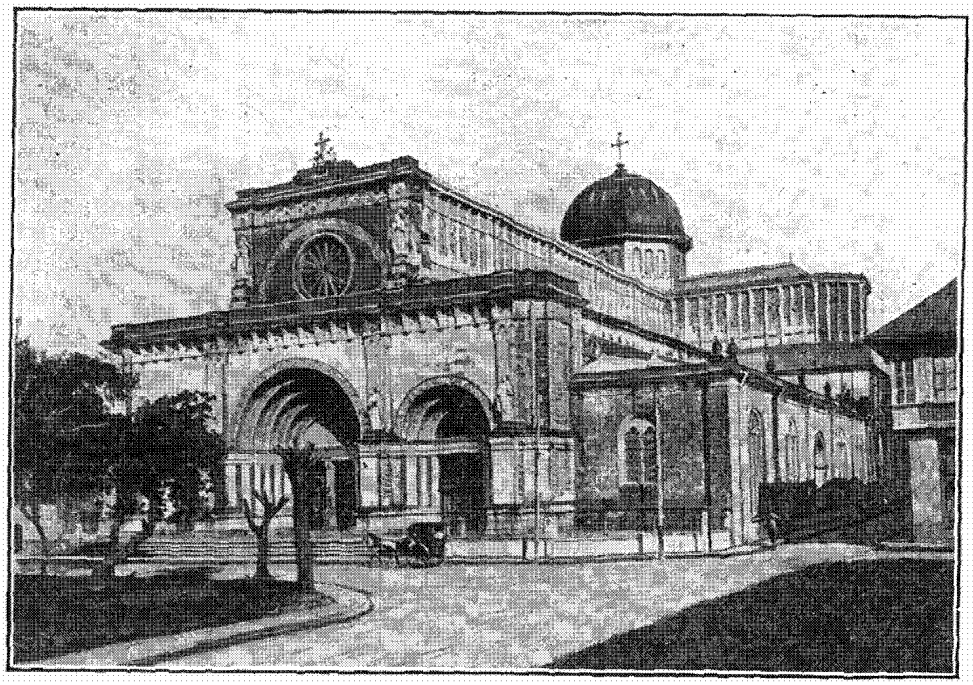
Establishment of an Educational System. — *Return of the Jesuits.*— But more important than all other influences was the opening of education to Filipinos. Authorized by royal decree, the Jesuits returned to the Philippines in 1859. The conditions under which they came back were that they should devote themselves solely to missions in the unoccupied fields of Mindanao, and to the higher education of the Filipinos.

The Public Schools. — In 1863, Concha, the Spanish minister of war and colonies (Ultramar), decreed the system of public primary instruction. A primary school for boys and one for girls was to be established in each pueblo of the Islands. In these schools, instruction was to be given in the Spanish language. A superior commission of education was formed, which consisted of the governor, the archbishop, and seven other members added by the governor himself.

The system was not secular, for it primarily was de-

[1] *El Periodismo Filipino*, por W. E. Retana. Madrid, 1895

voted to the teaching of religious doctrine. The Spanish friar, the pueblo curate, was the local inspector of schools and practically directed their conduct. It was not wholly a free system, because tuition was required of all but the poorest children; nor was it an adequate system, because, even when most complete, it reached only a small proportion of the children of a parish, and these very largely



Cathedral, Manila.

were of the well-to-do families. And yet this system, for what it accomplished, is deserving of high praise.

Besides the church, the convent, and the tribunal, nearly every town in the Philippines, toward the close of Spanish rule, had also, in the public plaza, its public school buildings for boys and for girls. In these towns a number of Filipinos were taught the Spanish language and given at least the rudiments of general edu-

cation. But this system did not give opportunity for education to the little child of the humble fisherman and the husbandman.

The Manila Normal School. — To prepare Filipino teachers to do this work of primary instruction, a decree of 1863 established the Manila Normal School. In charge of the Jesuits, this school was inaugurated in January, 1865. And about the same date the government decreed the foundation of the Jesuit "Ateneo Municipal" for higher instruction in the classics and sciences that should conduct the student to the degree of bachelor of arts. The influence of these institutions upon the development of the Filipino has been remarkable. In one or the other of them have been trained nearly all of those young men who in recent years have stirred the Filipino people to wide ambitions and demands. At the same time the excellent Jesuit observatory, which has done such important work in meteorology, was established in charge of Padre Faura.

Increase in Spanish Population. — The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought immense changes to the Islands. Previous to this date Spanish residents had been few. Almost the only class deeply interested in the Islands and permanently established here had been the friars. But with communication by steamer in thirty days from Barcelona to Manila, a new interest was felt by Spaniards in the Philippines, though unfortunately this interest was greatest among the politicians. Some of the projects planned and decreed can only be regarded as visionary and beyond the point of serviceability, and others, more unfortunately still, had for their purpose the creation of offices and emoluments for Peninsula politicians; but they all contributed to bring to an end the

paternal government under which there was no prospect of further enlightenment or progress for the Filipino.

Increase in the Number of Wealthy, Educated Filipinos. — The Filipino had now become embarked upon a new current of intellectual experience — a course of enlightenment which became full of unexpected development, and which has already carried him so far from his ancestor of one hundred years ago, that we can not say what advance another generation or two may bring. Throughout all the towns of the Islands a class was rapidly growing up to which the new industries had brought wealth. Their means enabled them to build spacious and splendid homes of the fine, hard woods of the Philippines, and to surround themselves with such luxuries as the life of the Islands permitted. This class was rapidly gaining education. It acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language, and easily assumed that graceful courtesy which distinguishes the Spaniard.

The only misfortune, as regards this class, was that it was very small. It could embrace but a few families in each populous town. Some of these had Chinese and Spanish blood in their veins, but other notable families were pure Filipinos.

Attitude of the Spanish and the Friars toward Filipino Education. — The great mistake committed by the Spaniard was that he rarely welcomed the further progress of the native population, and the center of this opposition to the general enlightenment of the race was the friars. Thus those who had been the early protectors and educators, little by little, because of their extreme conservatism and their fear of loosening the ties that bound the Filipino to the church and to Spain, changed into opponents of his progress and enemies of his enlightenment;

but the education which the church itself had given to the Filipino, and which had been fostered by the state and especially in recent times by the Jesuits, had made the Filipino passionately ambitious for more enlightenment and freedom.

The Rule of Governor Torre. — *Liberal Reforms.* — In 1868, Queen Isabella II. of Spain was deposed, and a little later a revolutionary government, the "Republic of Spain," was founded. It was the brief triumph of that reforming and liberal spirit which for so many years had been struggling to free Spain from the burdens of aristocracy and ecclesiasticism.

The natural consequence was the sending of a liberal governor to the Philippines and the publication of liberal principles and reforms. This governor was General de la Torre. He was a brave and experienced soldier and a thorough democrat at heart. He dispensed with the formality and petty pomp with which the governors of Manila had surrounded themselves; he dismissed the escort of halberdiers, with their mediæval uniforms and weapons, which had surrounded the governors-general since 1581, and rode out in civilian's clothes and without ostentation. His efforts were directed to encouraging the Filipinos and to attaching them to Spain. In the eyes of the Spanish law, for a brief period, Spaniard and colonists had become equal, and La Torre tried to enforce this principle and make no distinction of race or birth. While Filipinos were encouraged and delighted, it is impossible to describe the disgust of the Spanish population and the opposition of the friars. La Torre was attacked and opposed, and the entire course of his governorship was filled with trouble, in which, naturally, liberal ideas gained wider and wider currency among the Filipinos.

Effect of the Opposition of the Friars. — The friars, being the most influential opponents of the reform, naturally came to be regarded by the Filipinos as their greatest enemies, and the anti-friar spirit daily spread and intensified. A party was formed which demanded that the friars vacate the parishes, and that their places be filled by secular priests, in accordance with the statutes of the Council of Trent. This party was headed by the native priests, Dr. José Burgos, and Father Gomez.

A Filipino Movement for Reform. — After the fall of the republic in Spain and the restoration of the monarchy, the administration in the Philippines attempted to extirpate the rising tide of liberal thought; but these ideas had taken root and could not be suppressed. The Filipino party, if so we may call it, continued to plan and work for reform. It numbered not only those of Filipino blood, but many of Spanish descent, born in the Philippines. No evidence has ever been published that they were plotting for independence, or that their actions were treasonable; but the apprehensions felt by the Spaniards resulted frequently in the exile and punishment of known advocates of reform.

The Cavite Revolt. — In 1872 there occurred an important outbreak known as the Cavite Revolt. Two hundred native soldiers at the Cavite arsenal rose, killed their officers, and shouted "Death to Spain!" They had fellow-conspirators among the troops in Manila, but owing to mistakes in their plans these failed to rise with them and the revolt was easily suppressed.

It was immediately followed by the arrest of a large number of Filipinos who had been conspicuous in La Torre's time and who were advocates of reform. This number included the three priests, Fathers Burgos, Za-

mora, and Gomez, besides Don Antonio Regidor, Don Joaquin Pardo de Tavera, Don Pedro Carillo, and others. A council of war condemned to death forty-one of the participants in the Cavite riot, and these were shot on the morning of the 27th of January, 1872, on the Field of Bagumbayan. On the 6th of February a council of war condemned to death eleven more soldiers of the regiment of artillery, but this sentence was commuted by the governor to life imprisonment. On the 15th of February the same council of war sentenced to death upon the garrote, the priests Burgos, Zamora, Gomez, and a countryman, Saldua; and this sentence was executed on the morning of the 17th.

The Spread of Secret Organizations. — *Masonry.* — New ground for fear was now found in the spread of secret organizations, which were denounced as Free Masonry. This is a very ancient institution which, in Protestant countries like England and America, has a very large membership, and in these countries its aims are wholly respectable. It has never in any way been connected with sedition or other unworthy movements. Its services are, in fact, largely of a religious character and it possesses a beautiful and elaborate Christian ritual; but in Latin countries Masonry has been charged with political intrigue and the encouragement of infidelity, and this has resulted in clerical opposition to the order wherever found. The first Masonic lodge in the Philippines was established about 1861 and was composed entirely of Spaniards. It was succeeded by others with Filipino membership, and in one way or another seems to have inspired other secret organizations, which were formed some years later.

The Asociación Hispano-Filipina. — Large numbers of Filipinos were now working, if not for independence,

at least for the expulsion of the friars; and while this feeling should have been met by a statesmanlike and liberal policy of reform, the government constantly resorted to measures of repression, which little by little changed the movement for reformation into revolution.

In 1888 the "Asociación Hispano-Filipina" was formed by a number of the younger Filipino patriots and students in Spain. Their object was Philippine reform. The most famous of this group, who gained a supreme place in the hearts of Filipinos and in the history of the islands, was Dr. José Rizal y Mercado. He was born in 1861 at Calamba, on Laguna de Bay, and even as a child he was affected with sadness at the memory of the events of 1872 and with the backward and unhappy condition of his countrymen. He was educated by the Jesuits at the Ateneo Municipal in Manila, and his family having means he was enabled to study in Spain, where he took a degree in medicine, and later to travel and study in France, England, and Germany.

Dr. Rizal.

It was in this latter country that he produced his first novel, *Noli Me Tangere*. He was also a contributor to the Filipino paper published in Spain, "La Solidaridad." It was to bring the conditions and needs of his country to public notice, that he wrote this novel

dealing with Tagálog life as represented at his old home on Laguna de Bay and in the city of Manila. Later he published a sequel, *El Filibusterismo,* in which even more courageously and significantly are set forth his ideas for reform.

His work made him many enemies, and on his return to Manila he found himself in danger and was obliged to leave. He returned again in 1892, founded "La Liga Filipina," and was immediately arrested and sentenced to deportation to Dapítan, Mindanao. Here he remained quietly in exile for some years.

The Katipunan.—Meanwhile the ideas which had been agitated by the wealthy and educated Filipinos had worked their way down to the poor and humble classes. They were now shared by the peasant and the fisherman. Especially in those provinces where the religious orders owned estates and took as rental a portion of the tenants' crop, there was growing hatred and hostility to the friars. The "Liga Filipina" had been composed of cultivated and moderate men, who while pressing for reform were not inclined to radical extremes, nor to obtain their ends by violent means.

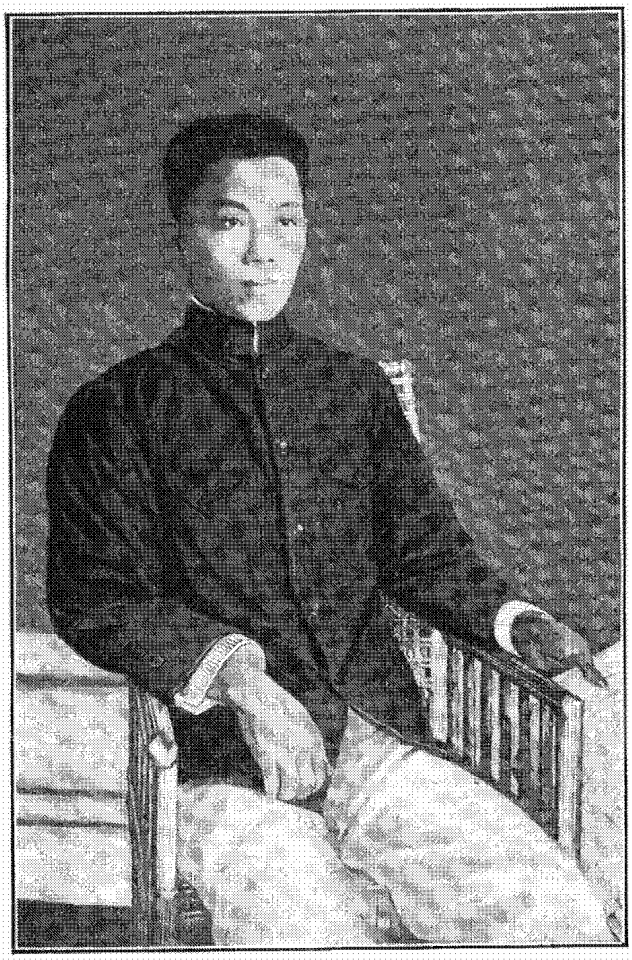
But there now grew up and gradually spread, until it had its branches and members in all the provinces surrounding Manila, a secret association composed largely of the uneducated classes, whose object was independence of Spain, and whose members, having little to lose, were willing to risk all. This was the society which has since become famous under the name of "Katipunan." This secret association was organized in Manila about 1892. Its president and founder was Andrés Bonifacio. Its objects were frankly to expel the friars, and, if possible, to destroy the Spanish government.

Rebellion of 1896. — A general attack and slaughter of the Spaniards was planned for the end of the year 1896. The plot was discovered by the priest of Binondo, Padre Gil, who learned of the movement through a sister of one of the conspirators, and within a few hours the government had seized several hundred persons who were supposed to be implicated. The arrests included many rich and prominent Filipinos, and at the end of some weeks the Spanish prisons contained several thousand suspects. Over one thousand of these were almost immediately exiled to far-distant Spanish prisons — Fernando Po, on the west coast of Africa, and the fortress of Ceuta, on the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile the Katipunan was organizing its forces for struggle. On the 26th of August, a force of insurgents attacked Caloocan, and four days later a pitched battle was fought at San Juan del Monte. In this last fight the insurgents suffered heavy loss, their leader, Valenzuela, was captured and, with three companions, shot on the Campo de Bagumbayan. The rising continued, however, and the provinces of Pampanga, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija were soon in full rebellion. The center of revolt, however, proved to be Cavite. This province was almost immediately cleared of Spaniards, except the long neck of land containing the town of Cavite and protected by the fleet. Here the insurgents received some organization under a young man, who had been prominent in the Katipunan — Emilio Aguinaldo.

The governor-general, Blanco, a humane man, who afterwards for a short time commanded in Cuba, was recalled, and General Polavieja replaced him. The Spanish army at the beginning of the revolt had consisted of but fifteen hundred troops, but so serious was the revolt regarded

that Spain, although straining every energy at the moment to end the rebellion in Cuba, strengthened the forces in the Philippines, until Polavieja had an army of twenty-eight thousand Spaniards assisted by several loyal Filipino regiments. With this army an active campaign in Cavite province was conducted, which after fifty-two days' hard fighting ended in the defeat of the insurgents and the scattering of their forces.



Emilio Aguinaldo.

Death of Dr. Rizal. — For the moment it looked as though the rebellion might pass. Then the Spanish government of Polavieja disgraced itself by an act as wanton and cruel as it was inhuman and impolitic.

Four years Dr. Rizal had spent in exile at Dapitan. He had lived quietly and under surveillance, and it was impossible that he could have had any share in this rebellion of 1898. Wearied, however, with his inactivity, he solicited permission to go as an army doctor to the needy

Spanish hospitals in Cuba. This request was granted in July, and Rizal had the misfortune to arrive in Manila at the very moment of discovery of the rebellion in August. Governor Blanco hastened to send him to Spain with a most kindly letter to the minister of war, in which he vouched for his independence of the events which were taking place in Manila.

His enemies, however, could not see him escape. Their persecution followed him to the Peninsula, and, upon his arrival in Spain, Rizal was at once arrested and sent back to Manila a prisoner. His friend Blanco had gone. Polavieja, the friend and tool of the reactionary party, was busy punishing by imprisonment, banishment or death all Filipinos who could be shown to have the slightest part or association in the movement for reform. And by this clique Dr. Rizal was sentenced to execution. He was shot early on the morning of December 30, 1896.[1] At his death the insurrection flamed out afresh. It now spread to Pangasinan, Zambales, and Ilokos.

End of the Revolt by Promises of Reform.—Polavieja returned to Spain, and was succeeded by Gen. Primo de Rivera, who arrived in the spring of 1897. The Spanish troops had suffered several recent reverses and the country swarmed with insurgents. The policy of Primo de Rivera was to gain by diplomacy where the energy of his predecessor had failed. In July, 1897, an amnesty proclamation was issued, and in August the governor-general opened negotiations with Aguinaldo, whose headquarters were now in the mountains of Angat in Bulacan. Primo de Rivera urged the home govern-

[1] An account of Rizal's trial and execution, together with many papers on the revolution, is printed by Retana. See *Archivo, Tomo IV. Documentos politicos de Actualidad.*

ment to make some reforms, which would greatly lessen the political importance of the friars. He was vehemently opposed by the latter, but it was probably in the hope of some reforms that Aguinaldo and his fellow-insurgents agreed, for the payment of 600,000 pesos, to surrender their arms, dismiss the insurgent forces, and themselves retire from the Islands. This agreement was made, and on December 27, 1897, Aguinaldo left the port of Sual for Hongkong.

The Spanish Misrule Ended. — Conditions in the provinces still continued very unsatisfactory, and in its very last hours the Spanish government lost the remnant of its prestige with the people by a massacre in Calle Camba, Binondo, of a company of Bisayan sailors. Ten days after this occurrence a revolt blazed out on the island of Cebu. Had events taken their course, what would have been the final conclusion of the struggle between Spaniards and Filipinos it is impossible to say. In the month of April war was declared between Spain and the United States; on the first day of May an American fleet reached Manila harbor; and in the naval fight off Cavite, Spanish dominion, which had lasted with only one brief interruption for 333 years, was ended.

CHAPTER XII.

AMERICA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

Beginning of a New Era. — With the passing of the Spanish sovereignty to the Americans, a new era began in the Philippines. It built upon the best achievements of the preceding rule, but it had a new spirit and a different goal.

Development of the United States of America. — The American nation is the type of the New World. Beginning in a group of colonies, planted half a century later than the settlement of the Philippines, it has had a development unparalleled in the history of states. Although peopled by emigrants from Europe, who rigidly preserved both their purity of race and pride of ancestry, the American colonies, at the end of a century, were far separated in spirit and institutions from the Old World.

Struggle with the wilderness and with the savage produced among the colonists a society more democratic and more independent than Europe had ever known; while their profound religious convictions saved them from barbarism and intellectual decline. It can truthfully be said that in 1775, at the outbreak of the American Revolution, the colonists had abler men and greater political ability than the mother-country of England. It was these men who, at the close of the Revolution, framed the American Constitution, the greatest achievement in the history of public law. This nation, endowed at its commencement with so precious an inheritance of political genius, felt its civil superiority to the illiberal or ineffective governments of

Europe, and this feeling has produced in Americans a supreme and traditional confidence in their own forms of government and democratic standards of life. Certainly their history contains much to justify the choice of their institutions.

A hundred and twenty-five years ago, these colonies were a small nation of 2,500,000 people, occupying no more than the Atlantic coast of the continent. Great mountain chains divided them from the interior, which was overrun by the fiercest and most warlike type of man that the races have produced — the American Indian. With an energy which has shown no diminishing from generation to generation, the American broke through these mountain chains, subdued the wilderness, conquered the Indian tribes, and in the space of three generations extended across the continent of North America.

Even while engaged in the War for Independence, the American frontiersman crossed the Appalachians and secured Kentucky and the Northwest Territory, and with them one of the richest and most productive regions of the temperate zone, — the Mississippi valley. In 1803, the great empire of Louisiana, falling from the hand of France, was added to the American domain. In 1818, Florida was ceded by Spain, and in 1848, as a result of war with Mexico, came the greater West and the Pacific seaboard. This vast dominion, nearly three thousand miles in width from east to west, was peopled by natural increase and by immigration from Europe, until, at the end of the nineteenth century, the American nation numbered seventy-six million souls.

This development took place without fundamental change in the constitution or form of government, without loss of individual liberty, and with ever increasing national prosperity. The Union of states survived the Civil War, the

most bloody and persistently fought war of the nineteenth century — a war in which a million soldiers fell, and to sustain which three and a half billion dollars in gold were expended. This war accomplished the abolition of negro slavery, the greatest economic revolution ever effected by a single blow.

The United States, at the time of its founding, stood almost alone among Republican states. The monarchical governments and societies of Europe were regarded with distrust. America was felt to be the only true home of freedom. These feelings created a sense of separation between the mother continent and the new. Europe failed to appreciate or understand the United States, and this country preferred to concentrate its energies upon its own prodigious development.

Toward the republics of Spanish America the United States, however, stood in a peculiar relation. These countries achieved their independence of Spain under the inspiration of the success of the United States. Their governments were framed in imitation of the American, and in spite of the turbulence and disorder of their political life, the United States has always felt and manifested a strong sympathy for these states as fellow-republics. She has moreover pledged herself to the maintenance of their integrity against the attacks of European states. This position of the United States in threatening with resistance the attempt of any European power to seize American territory is known as the Monroe Doctrine, because it was first declared by President Monroe in 1823.

Sympathy of American People for the Oppressed Cubans. — The fact that the American nation attained its own independence by revolution caused the Americans to give ready sympathy to the cause of the revolutionist. The

people of Cuba, who made repeated ineffective struggles against Spanish sovereignty, always had the good wishes of the American people. By international law, however, a nation may not recognize or assist revolutionists against a friendly power before their independence is practically effected.

Thus, when rebellion broke out afresh in Cuba in 1894, the United States government, as was its duty, actively suppressed the lending of assistance to the Cubans, although the American people themselves heartily wished Cuba free. The war in Cuba dragged along for years and became more and more merciless. The passions of Cubans and Spaniards were so inflamed that quarter was seldom given, and prisoners were not spared. Spain poured her troops into the island until there were 120,000 on Cuban soil, but the rebellion continued.

The Spanish have always been severe in dealing with revolutionists. Americans, on the other hand, have usually conceded the moral right of a people to resist oppressive government, and in the entire history of the United States there has scarcely been a single punishment for political crime. The American Civil War from 1861 to 1865, although it evoked intense passions, was not stained by a single execution for treason. Thus the stories of the constant executions of political prisoners, on an island in sight of its own shores, greatly exasperated America, as did the policy of Governor-General Weyler, which was excessive in its severity.

War with Spain. — *Destruction of the "Maine."* — As the contest proceeded without sign of termination, the impatience of the American people grew. Then, on February 15, 1898, occurred an event which ended the hopes of peace-

ful settlement. The American battleship "Maine," lying in the harbor of Havana, was in the night blown to destruction by mine or torpedo, and 266 American officers and sailors were killed. It is impossible to believe that so dastardly an act was done with the knowledge of the higher Spanish officials; but the American people rightly demanded that a government such as Spain maintained in Cuba, unable to prevent such an outrage upon the vessel of a friendly power, a government that could neither suppress its rebellion nor wage war humanely, should cease.

Declaration of War.—On April 20th the American Congress demanded that Spain withdraw from the island and recognize the independence of Cuba. This was practically a declaration of war. Spain indignantly refused, and resolved upon resistance. The European press generally claimed for Spain military and naval superiority and predicted American reverses.

The war was brief, and was an overwhelming disaster to Spain. Every vessel of her navy that came under the fire of American guns was lost.

For a few months battle raged along the coasts of Cuba, and then Spain sued for peace.

Dewey's Victory in Manila Bay.—But meanwhile the war, begun without the slightest reference to the Philippine Islands, had brought about surprising consequences here.

At the opening of the war, both Spain and the United States had squadrons in Asiatic waters. The Spanish fleet lay at Cavite, the American ships gathered at Hongkong. Immediately on the declaration of war, the American naval commander, Dewey, was ordered to destroy the Spanish fleet, which was feared on the Pacific coast of America. Dewey entered the Bay of Manila in darkness on the morn-

ing of May 1st, and made direct for the Spanish vessels at Cavite. His fleet was the more powerful and immeasurably the more efficient. In a few hours the Spanish fleet was utterly destroyed and Manila lay at the mercy of his guns.

A New Insurrection under Aguinaldo. — At this signal catastrophe to Spain, the smoldering insurrection in the Islands broke out afresh. The Spanish troops not in Manila were driven in upon their posts, and placed in a position of siege. The friars, as enemies of the revolutionists, were captured in large numbers and some of them were killed. With the permission and assistance of the American authorities, Aguinaldo returned from Singapore, and landed at Cavite. Here he immediately headed anew the Philippine insurrection.

Capture of Manila. — Troops were dispatched from San Francisco for the capture of Manila. By the end of July, 8,500 men lay in the transports off Cavite. They were landed at the little estuary of Parañaque, and advanced northwards upon Fort San Antonio and the defenses of Malate. The Spaniards behind the city's defenses, although outnumbering the Americans, were sick and dispirited. One attempt was made to drive back the invading army, but on the following day the Americans swept through the defenses and line of blockhouses, and Manila capitulated (August 13, 1898).

The Filipinos had scarcely participated in the attack on the city, and they were excluded from occupying it after its surrender. This act was justified, because the Filipino forces had been very recently raised, the soldiers were undisciplined, and had they entered the city, with passions inflamed as they were, it was feared by the Ameri-

cans that their officers might not be able to keep them under discipline.

Misunderstanding between Americans and Filipinos. — Up to this point, the relations between the American and Filipino armies had been friendly. But here began misunderstanding and distrust which for many months were increasingly to alienate these two peoples and embitter their intercourse.

Provisional Government of the Filipinos. — In the interval between the destruction of the Spanish fleet and the capture of Manila, the Filipinos in Cavite organized a provisional government and proclaimed the independence of the archipelago.

American Ideas in Regard to the Philippines. — The idea of returning these islands to the Spanish power was exceedingly repugnant to American sentiment. Spain's attitude toward revolutionists was well understood in America, and the Filipinos had acted as America's friends and allies. On the other hand, the American government was unwilling to turn over to the newly organized Filipino republic the government of the Archipelago. It was felt in America, and with reason, that this Filipino government was not yet representative of all the people in the Philippines, that the Filipino leaders were untried men, and that the people themselves had not had political training and experience. The United States, having overthrown the Spanish government here, was under obligation to see that the government established in its place would represent all and do injustice to none. The Filipinos were very slightly known to Americans, but their educated class was believed to be small and their political ability unproved. Thus, no assurances were given to the Filipino leaders that

their government would be recognized, or that their wishes would be consulted in the future of the Islands. In fact, these matters could be settled only by action of the American Congress, which was late in assembling and slow to act.

The Terms of Peace. — Spain and America were now negotiating terms of peace. These negotiations were conducted at Paris, and dragged on during many critical weeks. The Filipinos were naturally very much concerned over the outcome.

General Luna.

Finally, the American government demanded of Spain that she cede the Islands to the United States and accept the sum of $20,000,000 gold, for public works and improvements which she had made.

Suspicions of the Filipino Leaders. — These terms became known in November, 1898. They served to awaken the worst suspicions of the Filipino leaders. Many believed that they were about to exchange the oppressive domination of Spain for the selfish and equally oppressive domination of America. There is reason to believe that some leaders counseled

patience, and during the succeeding months made a constant effort to maintain the peace, but the radical party among the Filipinos was led by a man of real gifts and fiery disposition, Antonio Luna. He had received an education in Europe, had had some instruction in military affairs, and when in September the Filipino government was transferred to Malolos, Luna became the general-in-chief of the military forces. He was also editor of the most radical Filipino newspaper, "La Independencia."

Apolinario Mabini.

New Filipino Government. — On January 4, 1899, President McKinley issued a special message to General Otis, who commanded the armies of the United States in the Philippines, declaring that American sovereignty must be recognized without conditions. It was thought in the United States that a firm declaration of this kind would be accepted by the Filipinos and that they would not dare to make resistance. The intentions of the American President and nation, as subsequent events have proved, were to deal with the Filipinos with great liberality; but the President's

professions were not trusted by the Filipinos, and the result of Mr. McKinley's message was to move them at once to strengthen their independent organization and to decide to defend it with arms.

A new government was framed at Malolos, Bulacan, by a congress with representatives from most of the provinces of central Luzon. The "Malolos Constitution" was proclaimed January 23, 1899, and Don Emilio Aguinaldo was elected president. The cabinet, or ministry, included Don Apolinario Mabini, secretary of state; Don Teodoro Sandico, secretary of interior; General Baldomero Aguinaldo, secretary of war; General Mariano Trias, secretary of treasury; Don Engracio Gonzaga, secretary of public instruction and agriculture.

War with the Americans. — *Battle of Manila.* — The Filipino forces seemed impatient for action, and attack on the American lines surrounding Manila began on the night of February 4th. It is probable that battle had been decided upon and in preparation for some time, and that fighting would have been begun in any case, before the arrival of reënforcements from America; but the attack was precipitated a little early by the killing at San Juan Bridge of a Filipino officer who refused to halt when challenged by an American sentry. On that night and the following day, the battle raged along the entire circle of defenses surrounding the city, from Tondo on the north to Fort San Antonio de Abad, south of the suburb of Malate. Along three main avenues from the north, east, and south the Filipinos attempted to storm and enter the capital, but although they charged with reckless bravery, and for hours sustained a bloody combat, they had underestimated the fighting qualities of the American soldier.

The volunteer regiments of the American army came almost entirely from the western United States, where young men are naturally trained to the use of arms, and are imbued by inheritance with the alert and aggressive qualities of the American frontier. When the day ended, the Filipino line of attack had, at every point, been shattered and thrown back, and the Americans had advanced their positions on the north to Caloocan, on the east to the Water Works and the Mariquina valley, and on the south to San Pedro Macati and Pasay.

Declaration of War. — Unfortunately, during the night attack and before the disaster to Filipino arms was apparent, Aguinaldo had launched against the United States a declaration of war. This declaration prevented the Americans from trusting the overtures of certain Filipinos made after this battle, and an armistice was not secured.

The Malolos Campaign. — On March 25th began the American advance upon the Filipino capital of Malolos. This Malolos campaign, as it is usually called, occupied six days, and ended in the driving of the Filipino army and government from their capital.

The Filipino army was pursued in its retreat as far as Kalumpit, where on the southern bank of the Rio Grande de Pampanga the American line rested during the height of the rainy season. During this interval the volunteer regiments, whose terms of service had long expired, were returned to America, and their places taken by regiments of the regular army.

Some hard fighting had taken place during this campaign, and two American regimental commanders, Colonels Egbert and Stotsenberg, were killed.

The American Army. — The American regular army, besides the artillery, consisted of twenty-five regiments of infantry and ten of cavalry. Congress now authorized the organization of twenty-four new regiments of infantry, to be known as the 26th to the 49th Regiments of U. S. Volunteers, and one volunteer regiment of cavalry, the 11th, for a service of two years. These regiments were largely officered by men from civil life, familiar with a wide variety of callings and professions, — men for the most part of fine character, whose services in the months that followed were valuable not only in the field, but in gaining the friendship of the Filipino people and in representing the character and intentions of the American government.

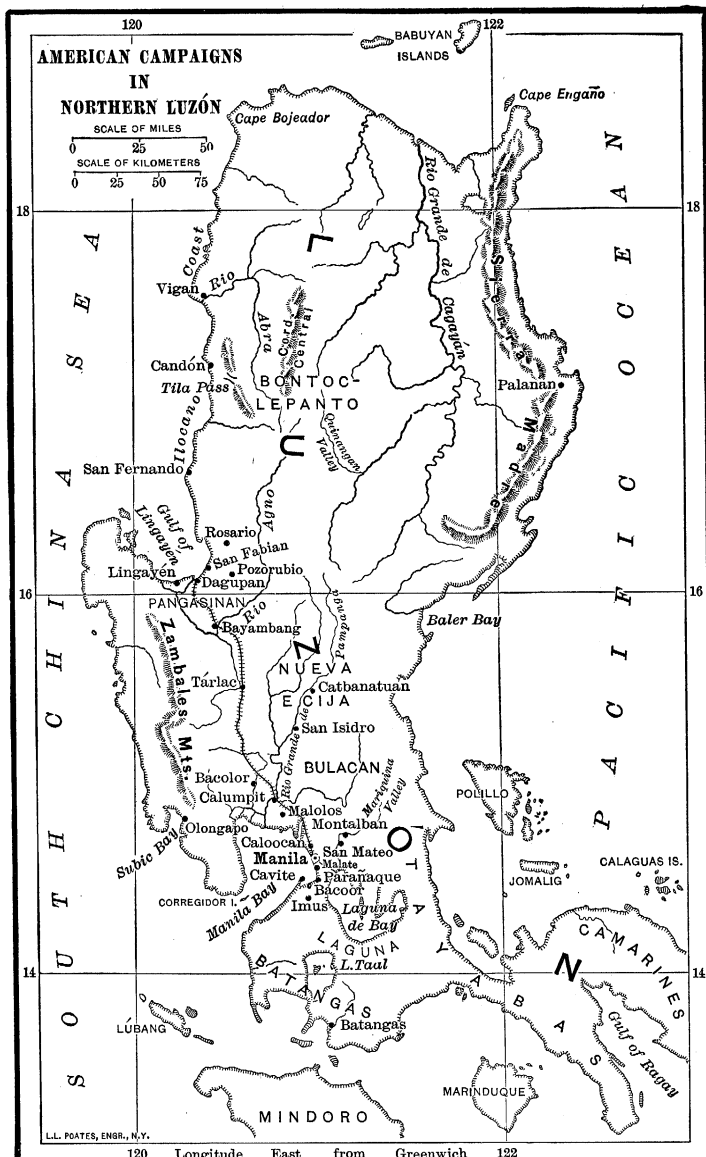
Anti-War Agitators in America. — Through the summer of 1899 the war was not pressed by the American general, nor were the negotiations with the Filipino leaders conducted with success. The Filipinos were by no means dismayed. In spite of their reverses, they believed the conquest of the Islands impossible to foreign troops. Furthermore, the war had met with tremendous opposition in America. Many Americans believed that the war was against the fundamental rights of the Filipino people. They attacked the administration with extreme bitterness. They openly expressed sympathy for the Filipino revolutionary cause, and for the space of two years their encouragement was an important factor in sustaining hostilities.

Spread of the Insurrection. — In these same summer months the revolutionary leaders spread their cause among the surrounding provinces and islands. The spirit of resistance was prominent at first only among the Tagálogs, but gradually nearly all the Christianized population was united in resistance to the American occupation.

Occupation of Negros. — The Americans had meanwhile occupied Iloilo and the Bisayas, and shortly afterwards the presidios in Mindanao surrendered by the Spaniards. In Negros, circumstances had been exceptional. The people in this island invited American sovereignty; and General James Smith, sent to the island in March as governor, assisted the people in forming a liberal government, through which insurrection and disorder in that island were largely avoided.

Death of General Luna. — With the cessation of heavy rains, the fighting was begun again in northern Luzon. The Filipino army had its headquarters in Tarlak, and its lines occupied the towns of the provinces of Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija, stretching in a long line of posts from the Zambales Mountains almost to the upper waters of the Rio Pampanga. It was still well armed, provisioned, and resolute; but the brilliant, though radical, organizer of this army was dead. The nationalist junta, which had directed the Philippine government and army, had not been able to reconcile its differences. It is reported that Luna aspired to a dictatorship. He was killed by soldiers of Aguinaldo at Kabanatuan.

The Campaign in Northern Luzon. — The American generals now determined upon a strategic campaign. General MacArthur was to command an advance up the railroad from Kalumpit upon Tarlak; General Lawton, with a flying column of swift infantry and cavalry, was to make a flanking movement eastward through Nueva Ecija and hem the Filipino forces in upon the east. Meanwhile, General Wheaton was to convey a force by transport to the Gulf of Lingayen, to throw a cordon across the Ilokano coast that should cut off the retreat of the Filipino army


AMERICAN CAMPAIGNS
IN
NORTHERN LUZÓN
SCALE OF MILES
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SCALE OF KILOMETERS
0 25 50 75
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122
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16
14
BABUYAN
ISLANDS
Cape Engaño
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Rio Grande de Cagayán
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Tila Pass
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Cagayan Valley
Palanan
San Fernando
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Baler Bay
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NUEVA
ECIJA
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Rio Grande de
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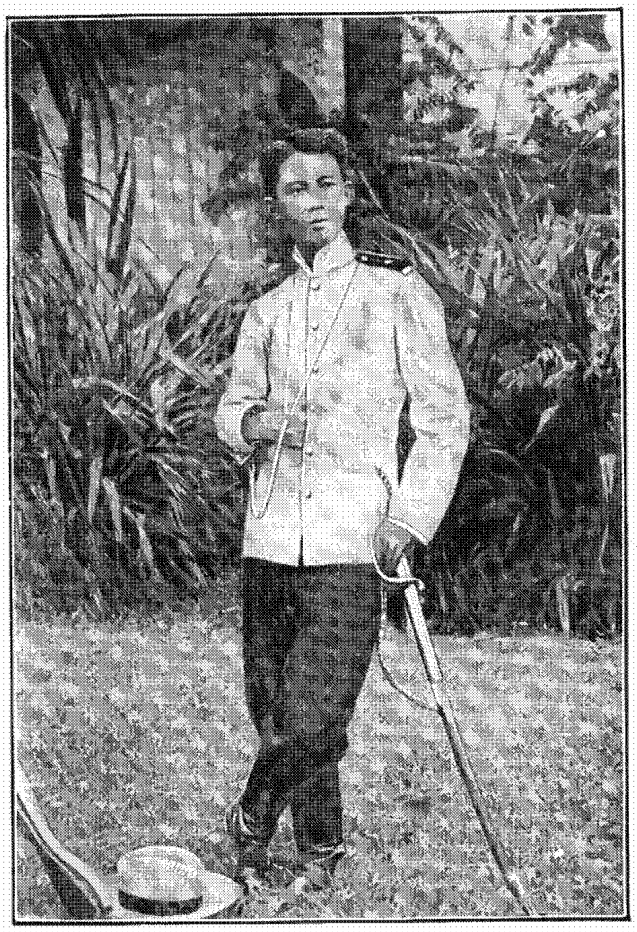
northward. As a strategic movement, this campaign was only partially successful. MacArthur swept northward, crushing the Filipino line on his front, his advance being led by the active regiment of General J. Franklin Bell. Lawton's column scoured the country eastward, marching with great rapidity and tremendous exertions. Swollen rivers were crossed with much loss of life, and the column, cutting loose from its supplies, was frequently in need of food. It was in this column that the Filipino first saw with amazement the great American cavalry horse, so large beside the small pony of the Philippines. Lawton's descent was so swift that the Philippine government and staff narrowly escaped capture.

On the night of November 11th, the Filipino generals held their last council of war at Bayambang on the Rio Agno, and resolved upon dispersal. Meanwhile, Wheaton had landed at San Fabian, upon the southern Ilokano coast, but his force was insufficient to establish an effective cordon, and on the night of November 15th Aguinaldo, with a small party of ministers and officers, closely pursued by the cavalry of Lawton under the command of General Young, slipped past, through the mountains of Pozorubio and Rosario, and escaped up the Ilokano coast.

Then began the most exciting pursuit of the entire war. The chase never slackened, except in those repeated instances when for the moment the trail of the Filipino general was lost. From Kandon, Aguinaldo turned eastward through the comandancias of Lepanto and Bontok, into the wild Igorot country of the Cordillera Central. The trail into Lepanto leads over the lofty mountains through the precipitous Tila Pass. Near the summit, in what was regarded as an impregnable position, Gregorio del

Pilar, little more than a boy, but a brigadier-general, with a small force of soldiers, the remnant of his command, attempted to cover the retreat of his president. But a battalion of the 33d Infantry, under Major March, carried the pass, with the total destruction of Pilar's command, he himself falling amid the slain.



General Pilar.

Capture of Aguinaldo.—Major March then pursued Aguinaldo into Bontok and thence southward into the wild and mountainous territory of Kiangan. On Christmas night, 1899, the American soldiers camped on the crest of the Cordillera, within a few miles of the Igorot village where the Filipino force was sleeping. Both parties were broken down and in dire distress through the difficulties of the flight and pursuit, but for several weeks longer Aguinaldo's party was able to remain in these mountains and elude its pursuers. A month later, his trail was finally lost in the valley of the Cagayan. He and his small party finally passed over the exceedingly difficult trail through the Sierra Madre Mountains, to the little Tagálog

town of Palanan near the Pacific coast. Here, almost entirely cut off from active participation in the insurrection, Aguinaldo remained until March of 1901, when he was captured by the party of General Funston.

For some weeks following the disintegration of the Filipino army, the country appeared to be pacified and the insurrection over. New regiments arrived from the United States, and an expedition was formed under General Schwan, which in December and January marched southward through Cavite and Laguna provinces and occupied Batangas, Tayabas, and the Camarines. Other regiments were sent to the Bisayas and to northern Luzon, until every portion of the Archipelago, except the islands of Mindoro and Palawan, contained large forces of American troops.

Reorganization of the Filipino Forces. — The Filipinos had by no means, however, abandoned the contest, and this period of quiet was simply a calm while the insurgent forces were perfecting their organization and preparing for a renewal of the conflict under a different form. It being found impossible for a Filipino army to keep the field, there was affected a secret organization for the purpose of maintaining irregular warfare through every portion of the Archipelago. The Islands were partitioned into a great number of districts or "zones." At the head of each was a zone commander, usually with the rank of general. The operations of these men were, to a certain extent, guided by the counsel or directions of the secret revolutionary juntas in Manila or Hongkong, but, in fact, they were practically absolute and independent, and they exercised extraordinary powers. They recruited their own forces and commissioned subordinate commanders. They levied "contributions"

upon towns, owners of haciendas, and individuals of every class, and there was a secret civil or municipal organization for collecting these revenues. The zone commanders, moreover, exercised the terrible power of execution by administrative order.

Assassination of Filipinos. — Many of the Filipino leaders were necessarily not well instructed in those rules for the conduct of warfare which civilized peoples have agreed upon as being humane and honorable. Many of them tried, especially in the latter months of the war, when understanding was more widely diffused, to make their conduct conform to international usage; but the revolutionary junta had committed the veritable crime of ordering the punishment by assassination of all Filipinos who failed to support the insurgent cause. No possible justification, in the light of modern morality, can be found for such a step as this. The very worst passions were let loose in carrying out this policy. Scores of unfortunate men were assassinated, many of them as the results of private enmity. Endless blackmail was extorted and communities were terrorized from one end of the archipelago to the other.

Irregular Warfare of the Filipinos. — Through the surrender of Spanish forces, the capture of the arsenals of Cavite and Olongapo, and by purchase through Hongkong, the revolutionary government possessed between thirty thousand and forty thousand rifles. These arms were distributed to the different military zones, and the secret organization which existed in each municipality received its proportion. These guns were secreted by the different members of the command, except when occasion arose for effecting a surprise or making an attack. There were no general engagements, but in some towns there

was almost nightly shooting. Pickets and small detachments were cut off, and roads became so unsafe throughout most of the archipelago that there was no travel by Americans except under heavy escort. For a long time, also, the orders of the commanding general were so lenient that it was impossible to punish adequately this conduct when it was discovered.

Death of General Lawton. — The American army, in its attempt to garrison every important town in the Islands, was cut up into as many as 550 small detachments or post garrisons. Thus, while there were finally over seventy thousand American soldiers in the Islands, it was rare for as many as five hundred to take the field, and most of the engagements of the year 1900 were by small detachments of fifty to one hundred men.

It was in one of these small expeditions that the American army suffered the greatest personal loss of the war. A few miles east of Manila is the beautiful Mariquina Valley, from which is derived the city's supply of water, and the headwaters of this pretty stream lie in the wild and picturesque fastness of San Mateo and Montalban. Although scarce a dozen miles from the capital and the headquarters of a Filipino brigade, San Mateo was not permanently occupied by the Americans until after the 18th of December, 1899, when a force under General Lawton was led around through the hills to surprise the town.

Early in the morning the American force came pressing down over the hills that lie across the river from the village. They were met by a brisk fire from the insurgent command scattered along the banks of the river and in a sugar hacienda close to the stream. Here Lawton, conspicuous in light clothing and helmet, accompanying, as

was his custom, the front line of skirmishers, was struck by a bullet and instantly killed.

Filipino Leaders Sent to Guam. — In November, 1900, after the reëlection in the United States of President McKinley, a much more vigorous policy of war was inaugurated. In this month General MacArthur, commanding the division, issued a notable general order, defining and explaining the laws of war which were being violated, and threatening punishment by imprisonment of those guilty of such conduct. Some thousands of Filipinos under this order were arrested and imprisoned. Thirty-nine leaders, among them the high-minded but irreconcilable Mabini, were in December, 1900, sent to a military prison on the island of Guam.

Campaigning was much more vigorously prosecuted in all military districts. By this time the American officers had found out the names and the whereabouts of the important insurgent leaders, and these were now obliged to leave the towns and seek refuge in remote barrios and in the mountains.

These measures, pursued through the winter of 1900–01, broke the fighting strength of the revolutionists.

The Philippine Civil Commission. — To supplement the efforts of the army in winning the Filipinos to a recognition of American rule and to reorganize the political institutions of the Islands, President McKinley in April, 1900, appointed the first Philippine Commission.[1] The work of this mem-

[1] This Commission is to be distinguished from a previous commission headed by President Schurman of Cornell, which was sent to the Philippines in 1899 to secure information as to the actual conditions. The report of the Schurman Commission is published in four volumes, Washington, 1900.

orable Commission will stand as one of the most striking events in American history. It was ably constituted. Its President was Judge William H. Taft of Ohio. The other members were Professor Dean C. Worcester of the University of Michigan, Honorable Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Honorable Henry C. Ide of Vermont, Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California. Mr. Wright had been Attorney-General of Tennessee; Mr. Ide, Judge of the Supreme Court of Samoa under the tripartite protectorate of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany; Professor Worcester had three times previously visited the islands, twice as a naturalist and once as a member of the Schurman Commission; Professor Moses had for many years been a student of Spanish colonial history and institutions. The Commission reached Manila in June, 1900, and commenced its legislative labors September 1. Its work in this capacity was remarkable. Between the first of September, 1900, and August, 1902, it enacted 449 laws, organizing with considerable completeness an entire form of government composed of insular bureaus and provincial and municipal administrations. In much of this work the way had already been opened by the efforts of the army and the general orders of the military commander. The revenues, derived mainly from customs, were from the beginning of the Commission's efforts adequate for the civil expenditures.

This Commission was able at last to bring about an understanding with Filipino leaders and to assure them of the honorable purposes of the American government. By the winter of 1900 many Filipino gentlemen became convinced that the best interests of the islands lay in the acceptance of American sovereignty and that they could honorably ad-

vocate the surrender of the insurgent forces. In December, 1900, they formed a political association known as the Federal Party (*El Partido Federal*) for the purpose of securing recognition of American authority and the conclusion of peace.

The positive evidences of the liberal American policy in the Philippines which the work of the Commission offered, together with the active operations of the American army, brought an end to the Philippine insurrection in the spring and summer of 1901, when the Filipino "zone commanders," who for many months had been exercising practically independent authority in the different provinces of the Archipelago, were captured or forced to surrender. They were all promptly paroled and allowed to return to their homes. Not one of these revolutionary leaders ever broke his parole or again took up arms against the United States.

On July 4, 1901, Judge Taft was inaugurated Civil Governor, relieving the Military Governor, Major-General Arthur MacArthur, and the executive power hitherto exercised by the Military Commander was organized as a civil administration.

On September 1, 1901, the Philippine Commission was increased by the appointment of three Filipino members — the Hon. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, M.D., the Hon. Benito Legarda, and the Hon. José Luzuriaga of Negros.

President McKinley's Letter of Instructions. — In assuming its duties and in the direction of its efforts, the Philippine Commission was guided by a letter of instructions from the President which may be ranked as among the most notable public papers in American history. This document, after defining the very large responsibilities which the Commission was to assume, charged that body to follow a liberal

policy, create a system of government in which the Filipino himself would have the largest possible share, establish a civil service upon a merit basis, and particularly to extend to the local units of government the largest possible degree of self-government or autonomy. It recognized the responsibility of the United States primarily as a trustee, and it placed in the first order the duty of guarding every legitimate right and interest of the Filipino, thus giving the basis for the policy subsequently defined as "the Philippines for the Filipino." This policy was loyally followed by every member of the Philippine Commission, and particularly by the three men most responsible for its adoption; namely, President McKinley, the Secretary of War, Mr. Elihu Root, and the first governor, Mr. Taft. If there was a mistake made anywhere in the early establishment of self-government, it lay perhaps in intrusting too great responsibility to municipal governments neither fully informed as to their duties nor practiced in the performance of them.

Local Government. — In establishing local government, the Philippine Commission utilized as far as possible the subdivisions of the country as they had been developed by the government of Spain. These subdivisions were primarily the province and the pueblo, described in Chapter X. A new provincial law and a new municipal law were early enacted, and then, in the course of an extended journey throughout the Islands in the spring of 1901, the Commission introduced these governments and made the necessary appointments. There were, at the end of Spanish rule, about 1132 organized pueblos. These were given a new corporate form under municipal councils chosen by a limited native electorate. For the local mayor or head of municipal administration the title of "presidente" took the place of the

former title of "gobernadorcillo." The municipal officers were accorded salaries, and a wide local autonomy was intrusted to the town as represented by its council.

The thirty-eight provinces were likewise given an administrative and legislative autonomy. The government of each province was placed in the hands of a commission called the "provincial board," composed of a governor, a treasurer, and a supervisor, who was a civil engineer and the custodian of the public property. The two latter officials, who at first were invariably Americans, were appointed by the Civil Governor, but it was provided that the governor should be chosen for a term of two years by an assembly of the municipal councilors of all the towns of the province forming an "electoral college." With few exceptions, Filipinos were chosen as governors, and a new office of dignity and responsibility was opened to Filipino leaders. Among the reconstituted provinces was one composed partly of the District of Morong and partly of former territory of the government of Manila, to which was given the name of the Province of Rizal. A system of local taxes was devised for the support of both provinces and towns, and within certain limits the power of fixing the rate of taxation and of making appropriations of public money was accorded to municipal councils and provincial boards.

Bureaus and Departments of the Government. — Neither the municipal council nor the provincial board, however, was made an instrument of the central government for the discharge of insular services. These had already in most cases been confided to organizations called bureaus, directed by a head at this time usually known as the "chief." These bureaus covered a wide range of the government's activities. They included not only the customs service and the general

maintenance of the insular treasury, but education, public works, constabulary, public health, the administration of the forests, the mines, agriculture and the weather bureau, posts, prisons, and other services. The constabulary, relieving the army of the task of maintaining public order, had already organized a force of some 6500 officers and men. A coast guard and transportation service had obtained about twenty beautiful little cutters named after islands of the Archipelago, and nearly all of them built especially for this service. A cold-storage and ice plant was under construction and was intrusted to a separate management. Likewise there were created a bureau of printing and engraving, a bureau of archives, a bureau of statistics, a Philippine museum, and a bureau of government laboratories for making chemical and bacteriological investigations. A bureau of non-Christian tribes was shortly organized for conducting reconnaissance among the little-known pagan and Mohammedan peoples, for negotiation with these people, and for framing legislation for their government. An insular auditor had already been provided by appointment of the Secretary of War, and a bureau of public lands was commencing a survey of the public domain. These services, so far as necessary, employed their own local agents and had their own staffs.

It will be apparent that in many fields, such as education, public health, and police, the government preferred a centralized administration to the organs of local government. It now became necessary to establish a superior administrative oversight of these services, and this was done by creating four departments, to which the bureaus were assigned; namely, Interior, Secretary Worcester; Finance and Justice, Secretary Ide; Commerce and Police, Secretary Wright; and Public Instruction, Secretary Moses. This

action was coincident with the assumption by Mr. Taft of the office of Civil Governor. The Civil Governor had direct oversight of the insular auditor, the government of the city of Manila, and the civil service board.

Civil Service Law. — To provide just and meritorious conditions for government employment and to open this employment progressively to Filipinos was one of the first concerns of the Philippine Commission, and the fifth statute enacted by the Commission at the commencement of its duties in September, 1901, was a civil service law drafted by Mr. Taft. In its emphasis upon the merit principle, this statute probably surpassed any similar law at that time existent in the United States. Eligibility for public employment was placed upon a merit basis as determined by competitive examinations. The service was classified in such a way as to afford the constant prospect of advance and promotion and all employees were protected, so far as any law can protect them, against improper political, religious, or personal influences. The operation of this law was confided at first to a board of three members, who conducted the examinations, certified to the appointing authority the lists of those eligible, and had the duty of offering recommendations upon all actions for promotion, dismissal, or discipline. The existence of this civil service system was of the utmost advantage to Filipinos, who were given preference for appointment wherever they could demonstrate their qualifications, and it greatly stimulated the interest of the younger generation in the operations of government and encouraged them to make preparation, by adequate education, for entrance into the public service.

Public Schools. — Perhaps no step taken by the American authorities more gratified the Filipinos or created a more

favorable impression of the intentions of the United States than the emphasis placed upon public instruction. American soldiers, no less than civilians, believed in the importance of diffusing among the people the elements of knowledge and of the English tongue. The prospects of the popular institutions which it was the purpose of America to implant depended upon the success of general education. Immediately after the American army occupied Manila, August 13, 1898, the public schools of the city were reopened under Chaplain W. J. McKinnon. Little attempt was made at first to change the teaching or discipline, but American teachers were engaged to commence instruction in English. As the occupation of the Islands advanced schools were opened generally. Army officers were charged with their oversight and enlisted men were detailed to teach English. Even during the period of warfare probably a thousand schools were thus conducted by the army. The Military Governor encouraged school work as a measure "calculated to pacify the people and procure and expedite the restoration of tranquillity."

Governor-General Taft

The Philippine Commission before leaving America had engaged a general superintendent of education, Dr. Fred W. Atkinson. On January 21, 1901, the commission enacted an

organic school law which centralized the administration of all public schools in the Bureau of Education; made instruction free and secular; and adopted the English language as the basis of the curriculum. The general superintendent requested authority to engage five hundred American teachers in the United States, but upon the urgent representations of Filipinos who appeared before the Commission in the public discussions of this measure the number was increased to one thousand. These teachers were promptly secured. By October, 1901, seven hundred and sixty-five were at work in nearly all parts of the Islands. In 1902 the number was increased to nine hundred and twenty-six, the largest ever at one time in the field.

The pioneer work of these teachers was accomplished under conditions of exceptional difficulty and danger. Life in the provinces was disorganized. Communications were lacking. Many islands were infested by ladrones, or bandits. Local government, upon which the maintenance of primary schools depended, did not function well at first. A severe epidemic of cholera in 1902–1903 swept the Archipelago. In spite of these extreme disadvantages, some two thousand schools were conducted, the diffusion of English was begun, and a large number of promising young people, under the encouragement of high-minded American teachers, gained new ambitions and made remarkable progress in the acquisition of modern knowledge. These young men and women became the nucleus of the new clerical and teaching forces of the Islands. The need for higher instruction in English was soon felt and by Act 372, of March 6, 1902, secondary schools were authorized. Meanwhile a normal school and a trade school had been opened in Manila.

The Judicial System. — The early labors of the Commission were devoted also to reëstablishing the judicial system and the codes of law. Even under military government it had been possible to restore the civil courts in Manila. The Spanish law which had been introduced into the Philippines was embodied in five excellent codes: the Civil Code, covering such relations as family, inheritance, property, and contracts, which was supplemented by a Code of Commerce; the Criminal Code, defining crimes and misdemeanors and fixing their punishments; the Code of Civil Procedure for the trial of cases in controversy between individuals; and the Code of Criminal Procedure for the trial of persons accused of offenses against the law. These codes early secured the attention of American soldiers and civilians in the Philippines and evoked much admiration. It was wisely decided not to substitute American law for this Spanish law of Roman origin. The Civil Code therefore remained in full effect and vigor. So did the Criminal Code, except so far as its provisions were altered by new laws or amendments. The Code of Criminal Procedure appeared not to give that security to the accused demanded by American conceptions of justice. It was accordingly set aside during the period of military occupation and a brief code governing criminal trials, prepared by Major Young of Utah and known as General Orders No. 58, was put into force. In order to simplify civil procedure, a new code was drafted under the Secretary of Finance and Justice, Mr. Ide.

The judicial system as reorganized consisted of a Supreme Court of seven judges, three of whom, including the Chief Justice, were Filipinos. This Supreme Court was given original jurisdiction over certain matters, but in the main was an appeal court from the courts of first instance. These

lower courts were at first fixed at fifteen, for the trial of both civil and criminal cases in the fifteen districts of the Islands. In the towns justice of the peace courts were provided for the trial of small cases and for holding preliminary examinations in cases of crimes.

During the final decades of Spanish rule numerous Filipinos had embraced the opportunity of acquiring legal education, and it was found possible at once to appoint certain Filipinos, learned in the law, to be judges of the courts of first instance and to take places upon the Supreme Court.

The Philippine Act. — In 1902 Congress passed the first organic law for the government of the Philippines. This measure, the so-called "Philippine Bill," was enacted July 1, 1902. Before this law was adopted, there was a long and detailed congressional examination of the conditions in the Islands, of the manner in which warfare had been conducted, and of the effect of the measures taken by the Commission. There was strong and continuing opposition to American conquest and possession of the Islands, and this opposition was ably represented in Congress. The Democratic Party officially pronounced against retention of the Islands, and in the presidential campaign of 1900 declared that "imperialism" — that is, the assumption by the United States of colonial responsibilities, — was inconsistent with American political principles and the "paramount issue" of American politics. Many Republicans shared these views.

At the Treaty of Paris negotiations, two of the five American commissioners had opposed the cession of the Philippines by Spain and, because the treaty included their acquisition, it was ratified in the Senate only by the nar-

rowest majority.[1] The motives of the American government in extending its demands upon Spain to include the surrender of the Philippines were denounced as lust of empire, cupidity, and the intoxication of military success. These charges by no means explain the situation. The dominant motive quite clearly had been to protect the Islands from further bloodshed and turmoil.

Aguinaldo and the Filipinos had had the encouragement of the American forces against Spain and they had coöperated in some degree in the taking of Manila. The American commanders had employed only legitimate means of warfare in encouraging the rebellion of the enemy's subjects, but this very encouragement had created a responsibility to protect the Filipinos from the consequences of their temerity in rising once more against Spain. The termination of the war released for action in the Philippines the Spanish forces employed in Cuba, and had the Filipinos been left to settle their cause alone, Spain would have swept the Islands once more with a besom of destruction. These considerations were the dominant motives with the American government and people. Acquisition seemed to be unavoidable except by a repudiation of clearly existing responsibility. This was the view which finally prevailed with the Congress, and which was now urged by the administration of President Roosevelt, who had become President through the assassination in 1901 of President McKinley. This was the view also of Governor Taft, who was present in Washington during this session of Congress, and whose testimony was extensively taken by the congressional committees.

The first care of Congress in this important statute was

[1] Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, Sen. Doc. No. 62, part I, 55th Congress, 3d session, p. 274.

to validate the acts of the President and the Philippine Commission. The work of pacification and the organization of government in the Philippines had been accomplished solely by authority of the President of the United States. It was an extension of his war and treaty-making powers. By the Philippine Act the government was made to rest upon a law of the highest constitutional authority — the Congress of the United States. In legislating for territories or possessions of the United States the Congress has far broader powers than in legislating for the Union. In fact, in this field, according to decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Congress appears to have all legislative powers which the Constitution has not specifically denied. The sole limitations are those provisions of the Constitution which guarantee the liberty of the individual; his freedom of religious belief and worship; his right to just, open, and speedy trial; his right to the possession of his property; and other precious rights which make up "civil liberty" as that expression is understood by the English-speaking race.[1] The Congress took care to establish for the inhabitants of the Philippines these civil rights, with the aim of protecting them for all time against arbitrary or impulsive action of government. This so-called "Bill of Rights," reënacted in subsequent congressional legislation such as the Jones Bill of 1916, is the legal basis of the liberties of the Filipinos.

[1] See the decisions of the Supreme Court in the cases of *American Insurance Co.* v. *Canter* (1 Peters, 511), decided in 1828; *National Bank* v. *County of Yankton* (101 U. S. Reports, 129), decided in 1879; *The Mormon Church* v. *United States* (136 U. S. Reports, 1), decided May, 1890. On the domain of personal liberty possessed by the inhabitants of a territory, in addition to above cases, see also the cases of *Reynolds* v. *United States* (98 U. S. Reports, 154), 1878; and *Murphy* v. *Ramsey* (114 U. S. Reports, 15), 1884.

For another interest of the Philippine people the Congress showed special solicitude. Legally the Treaty of Paris transferred from Spain to the United States an immense public domain, the unowned lands, the forests, and the mineral wealth of the Archipelago. The Congress in the Philippine Bill determined that this great property should be conserved for the fullest possible use of the Filipinos themselves. Extensive provisions were introduced in the Act to guard against excessive exploitation of this wealth in order that it might not generally pass into the title of foreigners, or of Americans themselves. The possible acquisition of agricultural land was limited to 16 hectares for an individual, this figure being taken as the proper size of a homestead for a Filipino family; and to not more than 1000 hectares for a private corporation.

The Act was silent on the question of independence, but it clearly did everything to safeguard the right of the Filipino in aspiring to independence, and it treated this noble feeling as a legitimate aspiration. While confirming the Commission as the temporary legislative authority of the islands, it made provision for the early introduction of a popularly elected Filipino legislative assembly.[1]

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[1] Material for the study of the American occupation of the Islands is to be obtained from the reports of the Philippine Commission, 1900 to 1916, and of the Governor-General from 1917 to the present. From 1901 to 1908 these reports were issued annually in several volumes, and, besides the reports of the Commission and the secretaries of the executive departments, contain complete reports of the bureaus. Since 1909 the report is issued in a single volume and the bureau reports are published separately. The reports of the Military Governors of the Philippines for 1899 to 1901 give the work of the Army. Valuable testimony before the Senate Committee in 1902 is published as a Senate Document. The laws of the Commission have been published in six octavo volumes, Acts 1 to 1800, Sept., 1900, to Oct., 1907.

CHAPTER XIII

A DECADE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT 1903–1913.

General Character of the Decade. — No one can review the achievements of the years from 1903 to 1913 in the Philippines without granting it to be a signal triumph over unusual difficulties and misunderstandings. Ten years is a brief period as measured by the usual progress of society, but in colonial administration it has frequently happened that great changes have not waited upon long lapse of time. Caesar was in Gaul only eight years; Clive's famous Indian governorship lasted less than six; Raffles was in Java only five. A decade of coöperative effort between Americans and Filipinos changed the future of the Archipelago; it is the intention here to summarize the historical events of this decade.

Policy of the United States. — Throughout this decade the Republican Party was in power in the United States, and the policy originally outlined by President McKinley, and developed by Mr. Root and Mr. Taft, continued to be the guiding principle of Americans in administering the government of the Islands. This policy, first laid down in the President's Instructions to the Taft Philippine Commission, while fully accepting and insisting upon American responsibility for the Archipelago, was a policy of conciliation and generous concession. It contemplated the larg-

est possible participation of Filipinos in legislation and administration and an increasing measure of autonomy as enlightenment and experience advanced; the conservation of the natural resources and the public domain; the education of the masses, and the training of Filipinos for leadership. Assailed at first by opponents from both quarters, this policy finally gained general recognition among Americans and Filipinos.

Although the Republican Party controlled the administration, the Philippine question was not regarded or treated as a partisan matter. Of the four governors-general who succeeded Mr. Taft, Mr. Ide was a Republican, Mr. Wright and Mr. Smith were Democrats, and Mr. Forbes had never been prominently identified with either party. Appointments to the Philippine service, with a few exceptions, were made without reference to political affiliations in the United States.

Achievements of Governor Taft. — Mr. Taft left Manila in December, 1903, to become Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. He left the Philippines with unconcealed reluctance, having previously in the year declined the coveted position of associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to continue at the head of Philippine affairs. His governorship had been one beset with immense difficulties. Active revolution ended in the spring of 1901 with the surrender and parole of all but a few of the revolutionary zone commanders and with the capture of General Aguinaldo; but guerrilla warfare continued, in Batangas under General Malvar until June, 1902, in Samar under General Lukban until February, 1902, and in Bohol and Cebu for some months after Mr. Taft's inauguration. July 4, 1902, saw all of these

provinces organized under the general provincial government plan.[1]

Ladronism. — In several provinces, including the vicinity of Manila, numerous subordinate chieftains refused to follow their leaders in submission and, falling back into the old life of "tulisanes" or "ladrones," kept up a period of raid and pillage which was not ended until 1906. This persistence of "ladronism" was perhaps the most discouraging problem that faced the new and untried civil goverment. Parts of the Philippines had not been free from tulisanes for many decades. Among the common people they enjoyed a kind of popularity, while their habitual acts of cruelty and retaliation terrorized the barrio population. Landowners, failing of public security for their crops and carabaos, had for years followed the practice of paying for protection, thus implicating themselves in keeping ladronism alive. To meet this situation the Commission in November, 1902, added to the Penal Code an act creating and defining the crime of brigandage or "bandolerismo." Membership or participation in any armed band of robbers engaged in robbery, carabao stealing, or roaming the country with deadly weapons, was punishable by death or imprisonment for not less than twenty years. The activities of the constabulary led to the arrest of thousands of offenders charged under this act. The courts were overwhelmed with the duty of their trial and men were frequently convicted in companies. The barbarities practised by the ladrones, the fact that they delayed all progress and occasioned untold misery, warranted the severest measures; but it was impossible to do individual

[1] Act 85.

justice, and men suffered punishment who were rather the victims of misfortune than deliberate criminals. Jails were overcrowded and the hygiene of the thousands of prisoners suffered. The evil could only be reached by substantial coöperation between the government and the barrio people, upon whom fell both the depredations of ladrones and the punitive measures of the police; and in the state of misunderstanding and inexperience which existed there was at first no accord. It would be impossible within the limits of this chapter to give an idea of the extent and injury of ladronism. No less than half the provinces were seriously affected during the years 1902–06, and bands more or less formidable appeared in practically all. On June 1, 1903, the Commission, by Act 781, authorized the Governor-General to place municipal police under the orders of the constabulary, to grant immunity from arrest by ordinary police to officers or members of the constabulary, and, upon resolution of the Commission, to "reconcentrate" the barrio population in town centers where the district was infested with ladrones and where protection could not be afforded to the people nor could they be prevented from supplying the ladrones with food and resources. This policy was practised in Albay to secure the bandit Ola and later in Cavite, without effect, against Sakay and Felizardo.

Another measure, the "Vagrancy Act," was directed not at Filipino outlaws but at abandoned and dissolute Americans, both white and colored, who were a disturbing element in many towns. On conviction they were deported from the Islands.[1]

[1] Act 519.

Epidemics. — But lawlessness was not the sole affliction of this trying period. Pestilence and famine descended upon the country. The sanitary service first organized in Manila by the American army achieved a triumph in 1903 in the extirpation of bubonic plague. But smallpox, until controlled by a resumption of general vaccination, swept many parts of the Islands for a number of years. And in March, 1902, appeared a terrible visitation of cholera. The disease had not been officially recognized in the Islands since the epidemic of 1888–89, although it may have been endemic during the entire period.[1] In Manila the epidemic lasted until the end of February, 1904, and killed 4386 victims. In the provinces, owing to the inefficiency of sanitary measures, the absence of medical help, and the inexperience of officials in combating epidemics, it swept unhindered until it had devastated all the Archipelago except the mountainous region of Lepanto-Bontok and the islands of Palawan and Batanes. There are no trustworthy figures as to the sick and dead. The official reports seem excessively low to one who saw the disease in several provinces. The census figures, which account for over 200,000 deaths, are probably still under the truth. The cholera, introduced into island after island by the visits of infected ships and native boats, spread from town to town at about the rate of a walking man. No remedial measures were known or tried. General sanitation, removal of filth, precautions in cooking and care of food, were advocated, but in many localities the disease raged until it seemed that only the immune were spared. There was no panic. The people took it with tragic submis-

[1] This is the opinion of Professor Worcester. See his *History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1908.

sion. Processions in honor of San Roque and other ceremonies were practiced, but the population was beyond the influence of such expert advice as was offered. American officials in the provinces, teachers, and scout and constabulary officers, with very few exceptions, stood to their tasks with heroic fidelity. Not a few fell victims. For months the normal industrial life, the work of the schools, and the operation of the newly established local governments were demoralized.[1]

Disease assailed the animals as well. Surra killed most of the horses in the Islands and a still more serious calamity, the rinderpest, destroyed the cattle and carabaos indispensable to rice cultivation. Agriculture was paralyzed.

Agricultural Distress and Economic Crisis. — The economic crisis was serious. For years the Islands had not raised their own food in adequate amounts. The development of the culture of tobacco, hemp, copra, and sugar had lessened the rice cultivation, and Saigon and Burma had supplied the deficiency. In 1903 the importations of rice reached 20,000,000 pesos; in 1904 they rose further to 23,097,628 pesos. The army, which had kept a great deal of money in circulation, had been much reduced and this economic support was gone. By the summer of 1902 in many parts of the Islands there was suffering for lack of food. The price of rice was rising rapidly in Manila and there was evidence that a combination had been formed among importers to control its price. Under these circumstances the Commission, by Act No. 495, appropriated 2,000,000 pesos to buy and distribute rice to needy districts, selling it at reasonable prices. The transaction

[1] *Census of the Philippine Islands,* vol. III, p. 47.

occasioned a loss to the government of $100,000, but it broke the " corner " in rice.

Drought of unusual length continued through many months of 1903 and locusts invaded nearly every province. The earliest records of Spanish occupation rehearse the losses through the armies of these winged invaders, and beginning with an early date, ordinances of Philippine governors had authorized the general levy of the population to destroy the young of the locusts. This practice was followed by the Commission, and an appropriation was made to aid the provinces in their efforts at extermination. The introduction of a fungus fatal to locusts was tried also, but without results. The relief fund of $3,000,000 voted by Congress, the only appropriation ever made by the United States government for the aid of the Islands, was used to supply food to populations engaged in fighting locusts as well as for building roads and constructing schoolhouses. Efforts were also made to restock the Islands out of this fund with carabaos from China and the Malay states.

The economic distress was further aggravated by the depreciation of silver, which impaired the purchasing power of the Mexican money in general circulation, by the absence of markets for such exports as tobacco and sugar, and by the unfamiliar character of the local taxation.

The prestige and success of the new government were greatly damaged by a number of defalcations of disbursing and property officers. The system of audit was inadequate, untried men had been intrusted with responsibilities beyond their ability or integrity, the number of officers at first charged with the receipt and disbursement of funds was unnecessarily large, and numerous irregularities occurred.

The offenders were swiftly prosecuted and unsparingly punished, but their behavior was a great mortification to the Commission and to the community.[1]

These are some of the difficulties under which the administration of Governor Taft labored. That progress was made is eloquent tribute to him and his associates. Business was suffering from the loss of army trade, from currency disorder, and from failure of products, but the finances of the Government were kept solvent. Public order suffered from ladrones and from fanatical outbreaks, but gradually friendships were established between Americans and Filipinos and coöperation was attained. The schools, in spite of delays of organization and the lack of means of communication, made progress and were attended in 1902–3 by about 150,000 pupils.

The personality of Governor Taft went far to reassure Filipinos and conquer their distrust and antipathy, but the American business community did not sympathize with his policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos." He was continually embarrassed by the lack of support from men who preferred the military régime, who clamored for a free hand in appropriating the natural wealth of the Islands and for legislation favoring exploitation. One of Mr. Taft's last services was the delivery of an address in Manila on the eve of his departure, entitled "The Duty of Americans in the Philippines." This was perhaps the fullest and ablest defense of the American policy in the Philippines ever made.[2]

Settlement with the Catholic Church. — Mr. Taft had labored to complete one other task. This was the purchase

[1] Report, 1903, vol. I, p. 70.

[2] *Official Gazette*, vol. I, p. 68.

of the "Friar Lands." These lands, the possession of the Augustinian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollect orders, amounted to about 425,000 acres, 275,000 acres being in the vicinity of Manila. Some had belonged to the orders for centuries, but the Augustinian estate in the Kagayan valley had been granted to that order in 1880 and the San José estate in Mindoro had been granted to the Recollects in 1894. Filipino feeling against the clerical ownership of these properties was intense. After 1896 it had never been possible to collect rentals from the tenants. The Malolos Convention which adopted the constitution of the Filipino Republic had decreed the secularization of these lands. The Schurman Commission had recommended their purchase by the government, their subdivision and sale to tenants. The Philippine Commission adopted this plan. It was urged by Mr. Taft in Washington in the spring of 1902, and sanctioned by Congress in the Act of July 1. On his way back to the Philippines in 1902, Mr. Taft went to Rome, hoping by direct application to the Pope to secure a contract for the purchase of the estates and the entire withdrawal of the friars from the Islands. This effort was unsuccessful, but a new Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Guidi, was appointed to the Philippines, and after long negotiations it was agreed in December, 1903, that the friar lands should be purchased by the Philippines government for $7,237,000. Subsequently other disputes involving the ownership of property, including the San José College, were settled or compromised in a manner generous to the church, and the difficult questions involved in the separation of government and church were met without inheritance of ill feeling. Furthermore, by Act of March 26, 1908, Congress appropriated

$403,030.19 for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church to settle its claims for damages to church property during the Spanish War and the Insurrection.[1]

Meanwhile the religious predominance of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines had been menaced by a remarkable secession which found its strength in hostility to the continued service of the friars as curates of the parishes. This schism was led by a Filipino priest, Gregorio Aglipay, who proclaimed himself Pontifex Maximus of the Independent Catholic Church of the Philippines. Hundreds of towns fell in with this movement, and their churches were turned over by the people to the Aglipay leaders. The Roman Catholic Church authorities demanded of the government that the churches be restored to their bishops by armed interference of the constabulary, but the government maintained a neutral attitude and required the matter to take its way in the courts. Decisions of the Supreme Court of the Philippines eventually gave the title of all these churches to the Roman Catholic bishops.

Administration of Governor-General Wright.—Following Mr. Taft's departure, Mr. Luke E. Wright was inaugurated on February 1, 1904.[2] In his inaugural address Mr. Wright dwelt upon the need of industrial development and of transportation, especially railroads, and urged that

[1] See Report War Dept. 1900, I, part 4, pp. 502–8; Report Phil. Com. 1902, pp. 22–33; Ib. 1903, Exhibits F.G.H.I.; Ib. 1904, Exhibit I.; Correspondence between the Holy See and Hon. Wm. H. Taft, Manila, 1902. Sen. Doc. 190, 56th Cong. 2nd sess.; Special Report of Secretary Taft, Washington, 1908.

[2] Congress by Act of Feb. 6, 1905, the "Cooper Act," changed the designation of the chief executive of the Philippines from Civil Governor to that of Governor-General.

encouragement and friendliness be shown to all who desired to enter the islands for their legitimate development. The policy, he said, should be one of "equal opportunities to all."

Economic Policy. — This announcement was welcomed by Americans who had opposed Mr. Taft, as indicating more favorable concessions to business and foreign capital, while Filipinos were to some degree disturbed. It was apparent that Mr. Wright's sympathies inclined more toward measures for industrial development than to the political training of the Filipinos or to public instruction of the child. As Secretary of Commerce and Police he had already given extensive study to the question of increasing railroad facilities in the islands, and the most important achievement of his administration was the interesting of American capital in railroad building. President Roosevelt appointed to the Commission to succeed Mr. Wright as Secretary of Commerce and Police, Mr. W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, then a young man of thirty-four, who had had successful experience in financial reorganization of electric roads and similar business in the United States.

Building of Railroads. — Except for a short steam tramway running from Manila to Malabon, the islands had but one railway, of 196 kilometers length, running north from Manila through the rich level plain of Luzon to Dagupan on the Gulf of Lingayen. The royal decree granting a concession was dated April 25, 1885, the grant following in 1887 when construction work commenced. The road was opened to traffic in several sections from 1891 to 1894. The Spanish decree had controlled the fixing of rates and regulation of service and this control continued to be exercised by the government under the United States. The

Commission served as a public utilities commission.[1] The conditions authorized by Congress and published by the Philippine government were somewhat different from those of the Spanish period. The presence of revolution and disorder and the uncertainty of the political future of the Islands had made foreign capital distrustful of Philippine investments. In order to attract investors, it was found necessary for the government to guarantee interest at four per cent. for a period of thirty years on the bonds of railway companies making contracts for the building of railways, the government reserving the right to supervise the construction and operation.[2]

Under these easy terms 725.8 kilometers of railway were constructed on Luzon, uniting with Manila the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas; 118.74 kilometers on Panay, joining the coast of Kapis with Iloilo; and 98.83 kilometers along the eastern coast of Cebu. These roads appear to have been successfully operated, but at times have received financial aid under the government guarantee of interest on the bonds.

Roads and Highways. — The public road policy inaugurated by Governor Wright was less fortunate. Mountain roads from Iba to Tarlak, from Pagbilao to Atimonan, a road designed to cross the island of Samar, and a road built across Cebu, were practically not utilized by the people and relapsed into ruin. Local roads built at heavy expense afforded scant returns. The absence of draft animals frequently made it impossible to use such

[1] Later a board of rate regulation was created by Act 1779, composed of the Governor-General, the Secretary of Commerce and Police, and one other person. (Rep. 1908, p. 33.)

[2] Report 1905, p. 3, sq.

roads when built. There was not provided, as later, an organized service to keep them in repair, and the damage by storms and typhoons each year was great. This last difficulty has been too little heeded. Road building in the Philippines is a different task from that in British Malaysia or Java, where mere dirt roads suffice and macadam with reasonable attention will stand unaffected season after season. In the Philippines the rainfall accompanying a typhoon disturbance is enormous, and even roads of most durable construction suffer heavy damage.

Unable to utilize these improvements fully, the people resented the burden of their maintenance. It would seem as if the Philippines, like Mexico and some Spanish American countries, would most economically pass from the stage of trails and paths to that of steam or electric roads. The Islands have abundant water power that could be utilized, and the heavy expenses incurred for wagon roads would have sufficed in many cases to build light railways affording immediate transportation to a people lacking both horses and vehicles.

Civil Service System. — Mr. Wright was a strong friend of the civil service system, which had been planted in the islands at the very beginning of the work of the Commission. Amplification of the law having been found desirable, an additional act, regulating the service and settling questions of absence and leave, was enacted on January 12, 1904, and on the first of September following were promulgated revised civil service rules further systematizing the service and strengthening the merit principle on which it was based.

Reorganization of the Administration. — The insular administration had been created with great rapidity and on

the whole with admirable results, but it now appeared that the cost of the government might be reduced and a higher efficiency reached by a reorganization of bureaus and a standardizing of office methods. On April 1, 1905, Governor Wright appointed a committee, with Mr. Forbes as chairman, which carried out a series of bureau investigations and recommended certain changes which were in large measure adopted by the Commission and incorporated in Act No. 1407, enacted October 16, 1905. This measure, known as the "Reorganization Act," consolidated certain branches of the government. The bureaus of Archives and of Patents, Copyrights and Trade Marks were united to the Executive Bureau. The Civil Service office, which had before been a board of three members, after the usual American pattern, was changed to a bureau. The Board of Health likewise became a bureau and to its custody were added the Civil Hospital, the Baguio Sanatorium and the health of Bilibid Prison. The Bureau of Government Laboratories became the Bureau of Science and the Mining Bureau was consolidated with it. The Bureau of Architecture was abolished and its work given to the Bureau of Public Works. The commissary and supply store in Manila organized by the constabulary was transferred to the insular purchasing agent, whose office became the Bureau of Supply. The telegraph system operated by the constabulary was transferred to the Bureau of Posts. The Ethnological Survey (previously the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes) and the Manila Library were added to the Bureau of Education, the first to be transferred a little later to the Bureau of Science and the latter in 1908 to be reorganized under the Philippine Library Board. The resulting reorganization

and administration of the insular government was as follows:

The Governor-General retained under his executive supervision the Executive Bureau and the Bureau of Civil Service.

The Department of the Interior embraced the Bureaus of Health, Lands (newly created to administer the acquired friar lands and other public domain), Science, Agriculture, Forestry, Quarantine Service, and Weather, with general supervision over the non-Christian tribes except the Moros, and over Philippine fisheries.

The Department of Commerce and Police embraced the Bureaus of Constabulary, Public Works, Navigation, Posts, Port Works, and Coast and Geodetic Survey, with supervision of corporations except banks.

The Department of Finance and Justice embraced the Bureaus of Justice, Audits, Customs, Internal Revenue, Insular Treasury, and the city of Manila, together with general supervision of banking, coinage, and currency.

The Department of Public Instruction embraced the Bureaus of Education, Supply, Prisons, Printing, and Cold Storage, with general supervision over libraries, public charities, and museums. In 1908 a Bureau of Labor was added to the Department of Commerce and Police and in 1910 the Bureau of Agriculture was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction.[1]

By this act the centralized system of administration was confirmed. Executive authority was centralized in the Governor-General and the Secretaries of Departments, who exercise administrative control over the bureaus. The heads of the bureaus, uniformly styled by this act "directors,"

[1] (Act 1912 of Philippine Legislature.)

are the responsible heads with authority over the personnel and the undertakings of their bureaus. This form of administration, modelled as it is upon successful continental and American federal experience, is a great improvement over the ordinary decentralized and ununified administration of American states. Its advantages have been fully demonstrated. Only in a few instances has the Philippine government shown a disposition to adopt the irresponsible and disunited "board type" of administration so common in American state governments. The administration of the University of the Philippines, however, has followed the usual American plan, being committed to a Board of Regents, partly ex-officio and partly appointed by the Governor-General. The Library Board and the Board of Industrial Sales Exhibit are recent innovations of the board type of administration.

The above reorganization somewhat improved the administration. It did not greatly reduce the office personnel or simplify the methods except in the field of disbursements, where authority was consolidated and the former system of auditing replaced by a system of pre-audit and a better property accountability. The Philippine Government was perhaps the first under the American flag to investigate and reform its administration in the interests of economy and efficiency, and the effort is correspondingly interesting to the student of administration.

Changes in Local Government.—This is a suitable place to notice certain modifications in the plan of provincial and municipal government. The American government in the Philippines had retained the Spanish administrative divisions, the "provinces," but had attempted to introduce the principle of local autonomy. Almost without excep-

tion modern colonial governments place the district or provincial administration directly under the head of the colony and fill the chief post of responsibility with a trained appointive official. But the American Commissioners had in view the American county as a model and were impressed with the evils of "centralization" and "autocracy." They undertook to decentralize, and created provincial governments of the "commission type" ostensibly autonomous in their powers. However, these governments were never intrusted with important branches of the service or utilized by the insular authorities as local agents. Education, constabulary, forests, mines, lands, and posts were committed to insular bureaus with headquarters in Manila and representatives in all parts of the Islands. At first, roads and similar public improvements were constructed by the provincial boards, but in 1905 the office of "supervisor" was abolished and provincial road work intrusted to district engineers of the insular Bureau of Public Works. The place of the supervisor on the provincial board was taken by the division superintendent of schools. Local boards of health also were abandoned in favor of sanitation by the Bureau of Health. These arrangements indicate a failure of the plan of decentralized provincial governments, and a disposition not to intrust them with extensive powers. The Reorganization Act made a decisive change toward administrative oversight by providing that the Executive Secretary should have general supervision over the provincial treasurers and provincial administration, review the action of provincial boards in assessing the land tax, and approve all appointments to the subordinate personnel of the provincial governments. The provincial governments, however, were obviously too expensive for the slender duties

left to them. Economy was gained by uniting several small provinces with larger (Marinduki with Tayabas, Antiki with Iloilo, Abra with Ilokos Sur, Masbate with Sorsogon), and by consolidating the offices of governor and secretary, or secretary and treasurer. The separate court for Abra was abolished,[1] and the office of fiscal in two different provinces was united in a number of instances. Several years later an effort was made to increase the responsibilities of the provincial governments and the third member of the board was made elective, like the governor. More recently the terms of office of both these officials have been extended to four years. In spite of the lack of any sound theory in the plan of provincial governments, they have interested the people and have accomplished some notable improvements, including the erection of many excellent provincial buildings.

The Commission had originally adopted the "pueblo" as the basis of municipal government. But the plan provided by the Municipal Code of 1901[2] was overelaborate and artificial, required too many paid officials, and was too expensive for the average town. Consolidation was early resorted to. In 1903 the number of municipalities was reduced by over four hundred. Many former town centers were thus left without local officials; buildings and plazas were neglected. The whole civic spirit, which with Filipinos centers in their locality, was hurt. More recent years have seen the reincorporation of many of these towns. The Governor-General was given authority to effect this rehabilitation, and the return of more prosperous years has brought improvement in the manner

[1] Act 1345, May 19, 1905.

[2] Act 83.

in which municipal government is conducted, though many of the initial defects remain. For the municipalities, as in the case of the provincial governments, no adequate administrative supervision has ever been created.

Improvements to the City of Manila. — Other public undertakings which date from this time are the Manila harbor and the replanning of the city. To a large degree the Americans followed plans which the Spaniards had originated but had pressed with insufficient energy to realize in their time.

The port of Manila had remained for centuries unprotected from heavy winds and typhoons. Cavite offered the only passable anchorage for ships too large to enter the Pasig river. Ocean-going steamers at Manila lay two miles or more off shore and transferred their freight and passengers to lighters, exposed to danger during the season of typhoons. A splendid port was formed by building an immense breakwater southward from the mouth of the Pasig, behind which the sea was deepened. The excavated mud formed a great fill along the Malecon drive and the Luneta, and was also pumped into the old moats and "contrafoso" around the city, these depressions being converted into sunken gardens. Steel and concrete piers were constructed where the largest ocean craft in the Pacific can be docked. The filled area added two hundred acres of new land to the water front, to be leased for warehouse and transportation facilities. These improvements, practically complete by May, 1908, cost over $4,000,000.

Other needs of Manila were equally imperative. The old water works, provided by the munificence of Carriedo, were inadequate. There was no system of sewerage except

open drains and a few stone cloacæ which discharged into the half-filled moat or into open estuaries. In the last decades of Spanish authority steps had been taken toward better city planning. The Botanical Garden had been laid out. Certain radial avenues were opened and the great circling thoroughfare, the Paseo Azcarraga and its extensions, dedicated to traffic, but still the streets of the city and its many suburbs were narrow, crooked, and ill planned. In 1904, the Commission engaged the famous landscape architect, Mr. D. H. Burnham, to come to Manila and develop a comprehensive plan for improvement and growth of the city. Breaches were made in the old walls in several places to allow new streets to enter, but the noble and interesting gateways as well as all valuable parts of the wall were preserved. The flat and low site of the city made a sewerage plan difficult, but work begun at this time has gradually produced a comprehensive system of waste disposal and drainage. The water system was greatly enlarged and improved, at an expense of about $2,000,000, the Marikina river being dammed 25 miles from Manila and water secured from high in the mountains above all human habitations. The Commission did not seek to municipalize other public services. Franchises were given or renewed for a telephone service and for street railways and for electric lighting. These were obtained by American companies. The electric car service was opened in 1904.

Political Difficulties and Disorders. — On the political side Mr. Wright's administration was less impressive. A considerable body of irreconcilable Filipino opposition still existed, and there was neither confidence nor understanding between the American authorities and those

Filipinos most able to support the American government and its policies. The production of incendiary literature and dramas had led in November, 1901, to the passage of the Sedition Act and to prosecutions thereunder. Early in 1903 the Filipinos who had been taken as prisoners to Guam at the close of 1900, were pardoned and returned. The most prominent was Mabini, who took the oath of allegiance, landed in Manila, and a few weeks later fell a victim to cholera. One of these radicals, Ricarte, refused to take the oath, and was sent to Hongkong. He returned secretly to Manila shortly after and raised a revolt in Rizal province. Due to his influence a company of constabulary in Bigan, Ilokos Sur, mutinied. Another notorious leader, San Miguel, was defeated and killed in a retired spot near Manila, called Corral-na-bato, in March, 1903. A number of other outlaws in Cavite and Batangas, however, defied the constabulary. These men, Sakay, Montalon, Felizardo, de Vega and a number more, were perhaps the most desperate and cruel leaders in the history of the insurrection. They had arms and they increased their followers by forced recruiting whenever a raid was made. By terrorism, assassination, and robbery they kept the provinces of Rizal, Cavite, and Batangas in a constant state of disorder and alarm. On January 24, 1905, the town of Malabon was raided by these outlaws. The surgecn on duty with the command of scouts was killed, and the wife of General Trias, a former insurgent leader, was carried away. These disturbances demanded increased activity. The outlaws were few, but they were elusive and the constabulary had little success in pursuing them; consequently American troops were called upon. Governor-General Wright put the province under martial law and

with the consent of the Commission authorized the concentration of the barrio population. It appears certain that in this last step Mr. Wright was ill-advised. He was not on terms of confidence with the Filipinos whose counsel and help would have availed much and he allowed suspicion to fall upon men who were capable of furnishing loyal support. Some of the measures resorted to by constabulary officers were lawless and indefensible and were neither properly investigated nor punished. The reconcentration was a grievous hardship to many thousands of innocent people. Crops were lost, property was destroyed, and a feeling of most ominous bitterness was aroused.

The Pulahan. — Besides these difficulties in Luzon and in the immediate neighborhood of Manila, the island of Samar was swept by a frightful outbreak of fanatics, known as the "Pulahan." The name seems to be derived from "pula," meaning red, and to refer to the red trousers at one time worn by these devotees. Their origin dates back at least to the '80s and is connected with superstitious beliefs in the power of magical charms, "anting-anting," which make the possessor invisible or invulnerable. Such a band assaulted the town of Borongan on the east coast of Samar in 1886, was badly punished by the Guardia Civil stationed there, but under their leader Otoy continued to maintain an outlaw existence in the interior of this very rugged island during the last years of Spanish sovereignty and the early years of American occupation. In 1904 some of these men, with recruits from the barrio population of the towns, rebelled. They had apparently some grievances of a solid character. The local officials, including the presidents of the municipalities, were agents of the hemp-buying companies and had used their author-

ity to rob and exploit the humbler classes. These now took a terrible revenge. Town after town was swept away by pillage and fire. The Gandara valley on the west coast was desolated and on the Pacific coast not a municipality was left undestroyed except the heavily garrisoned town of Borongan. Several engagements were desperate and disastrous. Two detachments of scouts stationed at Oras and Dolores were practically annihilated. The Pulahan's favorite weapon was a long heavy knife, broad at the end and running to a sharp point with which he thrust as he charged. Inspired with fanatical belief in his own invulnerability he was a most desperate foeman. American troops were finally thrown into the island and with the able and tactful administration of Mr. George Curry, who was appointed governor, brought the devastation to an end. Otoy, who seems to have been the originator of the movement, was not killed, however, until 1910.

Visit of Secretary Taft and Party. — Advices of these alarming disturbances and of the prevailing alienation of Filipinos from the government induced Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War immediately responsible for Philippine affairs, to visit the Islands in 1905. He was attended by a distinguished party of Americans which included a number of United States Senators and members of Congress, newspaper correspondents, and the daughter of the President. The visit was the occasion of many interesting receptions, conferences, and trips to several parts of the Islands. Before the departure of the party an open meeting was held by congressmen for the frank report of all criticisms. The visit improved feeling and led to a betterment of the constabulary service. In December Governor Wright returned to Washington on business for the Islands,

and while there was appointed to the newly created post of ambassador to Japan. He filled this position with distinction and in the last months of Mr. Roosevelt's administration he became Secretary of War.

Administration of Governor-General Ide. — Mr. Henry Clay Ide, who had been vice-governor and secretary of finance and justice, became acting governor-general on November 4 and was inaugurated governor-general on April 12, 1906. Before becoming chief executive of the islands, Mr. Ide had done extremely valuable service on the Commission. His management of Philippine finances had been able and prudent. He was largely the framer of the Code of Civil Procedure adopted by Act 190, in August, 1901. He was likewise the principal author of the Internal Revenue Law of 1904, enacted when it became apparent that the customs and other revenues would not suffice to support the government. This law, which laid increased taxes on the manufacture of intoxicants and tobacco, on banks and insurance companies, lightened the burdens on other industries and in spite of opposition at the commencement proved a valuable tax measure and regulatory law.

Governor-General Ide.

Reform of Currency. — To Mr. Ide in large measure must be ascribed the reform of the Philippine currency, one of the most brilliant achievements of the American administration. The common money of the Far East was Mexican silver. The Spanish government of the Philippines late in its life established a Spanish-Filipino coinage and a mint was created in Manila. It was located in the building called Casa de Moneda, now occupied as office quarters by the Bureau of Education. At the commencement of American occupation Mexican money flowed back into the Archipelago and became with other foreign coins the common medium of exchange. There was a lack of coinage, especially of small coins. In Northern Luzon copper forgeries, called "sipings," made by the Igorot of Mankayan district, freely circulated. During the first two years of American occupation Mexican pesos were valued at half an American dollar. But in 1901 the value of silver began to fall all over the world and a Mexican dollar ceased to be worth fifty cents gold. The depreciation continued by gradual downward stages throughout succeeding months until in March, 1903, it required 2 pesos and 66 centavos to equal in value a dollar of gold. The loss to labor and to business was very great. A person receiving a wage or salary in silver found the purchasing power of his income was rapidly lessening. Prices were disturbed. As the government was still receiving Mexican money in payment of taxes and customs its revenues were seriously affected. From January to October, 1902 alone, its losses were nearly a million pesos. The losses to individuals ran into untold sums. On the urgent recommendation of the Philippine Commission, Congress on May 2, 1902, passed an act authorizing a coinage system for the Philippines

with a standard Philippine dollar, or "peso," worth fifty cents of American money and exchangeable at government treasuries for this amount. The designs for the peso, half peso, peseta, and centavo were made by a Filipino, Mr. Melecio Figueroa. Over seventeen million dollars of these attractive coins were received in 1903. Furthermore, paper certificates, furnishing a portable and convenient currency, were printed at Washington, the most commonly used piece, two pesos, bearing the effigy of José Rizal. Mexican money, no longer acceptable for taxes or legal tender, was driven out of the Islands, while the old Spanish-Filipino coins were redeemed by the government. This creation of a sound and convenient money was one of the finest triumphs of the government. Its advantages were appreciated immediately by all classes, and contrary to expectations the Filipinos even in remote parts of the islands quickly familiarized themselves with the paper currency and accepted it willingly.

Opium Legislation. — In 1903 it became evident that the habit of using opium was rapidly extending among Filipinos, particularly in the Kagayan valley, in Sambales, and in the Moro country. Spanish laws had forbidden the drug to Filipinos but had permitted its use to Chinese in licensed smoking establishments. The failure to regulate left the vice free to spread. A regulatory measure on the lines of previous Spanish law was prepared by General Smith, Secretary of Public Instruction, and laid before the Commission in 1903. Much opposition was expressed to it, especially by the "Evangelical Union," and after several discussions of the measure the Commission determined to postpone action pending further investigation. A committee was provided, consisting of

Major Carter of the United States Army, who had been head of the sanitary service, Dr. José Albert, and Bishop Charles H. Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This committee visited neighboring countries and studied opium laws abroad, and on their return recommended a measure modelled largely upon Japanese legislation in Formosa, which aimed to suppress the use of the drug completely. Such a law was enacted and under its rigorous enforcement this vice for a time declined. The splendid moral power shown by the Chinese people during the same years in throwing off this habit doubtless helped to reduce the use of opium in the Philippines.

Standard Weights and Measures. — In 1906, after a careful study of the matter by government experts in the Bureau of Science, the system of weights and measures was reformed and legalized. Standards of weight and capacity had become deplorably falsified and irregular. It was commonly said that the only reliable unit of measure remaining was a Standard Oil can. The debasement and frauds practised fell heaviest, as such irregularities do, upon the poorest purchasers. It was decided to adopt the international metric system which the Spanish government had decreed, and it was found possible to standardize the native measures, the "kaban," "ganta," and "chupa," in terms of the metric system. A ganta was made exactly equal to three liters and such local standards were authorized until January 1, 1909.[1]

Postal Savings. — In October, 1906, there was established under the Bureau of Posts a "Postal Savings

[1] Act 1510, enacted August 3, 1906.

Bank," a measure wisely designed to encourage money saving and thrift among those too poor to avail themselves of ordinary banking facilities.[1] The measure proved popular. Its use was taught in the schools, where prizes were offered for savings among pupils, and in June, 1908, it was reported that there were 245 offices with deposits of over a million pesos, credited to 5389 depositors, 45 per cent of them being Filipinos. This measure so commended itself to Mr. Taft that as President he secured the enactment by Congress of a similar system for the people of the United States.

Surrender of the Cabecillas. — Mr. Ide's governorship saw the final destruction of the tulisan or ladron leaders, who for so many years had filled central Luzon with murder and disorder. The rigorous policy authorized by Governor-General Wright in Cavite, which has been referred to above, secured the breaking up of the bands and the capture of numerous firearms, but it did not apprehend the leaders or "cabecillas." Later in 1905, however, Felizardo was killed by some of his own followers and a few months later the others, Sakay, Montalon, de Vega, and Villafuerte, were induced to surrender. The circumstances of this event did not produce a favorable impression, glad as all were to be freed of these bandits. Early in 1906 Governor-General Ide authorized the constabulary to use the services of the political agitator, Dr. Dominador Gomez, who had supposedly been in occasional communication with these cabecillas during their period of outlawry. What terms the government made with him has never been disclosed. The executive was careful to stipulate that no

[1] Act 1493, May 24, 1906.

terms were to be offered to the outlaws and that the surrender should be unconditional. The men, with what expectations will perhaps never be known, came out of the mountains north of Lake Bay where they had concealed themselves, appeared at Manila, and, after a conference, surrendered. They were tried in Cavite before an able Filipino judge who sentenced them to death. Meanwhile Mr. Ide had retired and the appeal for their reprieve came before the new executive, Governor-General James F. Smith. This conscientious executive with exhaustive patience faced the whole body of facts in the case and in an able and convincing summary extended clemency to two and sent the others to the gallows.[1]

Filipino Parties. — The governorship of Mr. Ide marked the beginning of renewed political activity among the Filipinos. As early as 1900 the active efforts of Mr. Taft and his associates to reach an understanding with the Filipinos had led to the formation of the first political party in the history of the Philippines, the *Partido Federal.* It was organized to secure peace under the sovereignty of the United States. Its first platform was adopted December 23, 1900.[2] Its program renewed the "assimilation" idea of a time while the islands were still under Spain. "The Federal Party," wrote Dr. Pardo, "is constantly laboring to show to the Filipino people that nothing will benefit them as much as an unconditional adoption of American civilization, in order that they may at the proper time constitute a state similar to others of the Union.

[1] Report 1907, I, pp. 37-42.

[2] Printed in Mr. Taft's testimony before the Senate Committee in 1902; also in part 2, *Report of Lieutenant-General Commanding Army*, for 1902, p. 122; see also a history of the party in appendix to the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, December, 1901.

This is the final purpose of its platform which clearly explains the aspirations of the party, which are, briefly, as follows: a steadily increasing autonomy, the separation of church and state, representation of the Philippines in the Federal Congress, and the adoption of the American Constitution, culminating at last in the admission of the islands as one of the states of the Union."[1] The party was governed by a "directorate" of seven members and by a "council of government" of twenty-five members. Affiliated committees existed in all the provinces. A party assembly or convention was held at Manila in 1901 and a memorial presented to Congress. At subsequent conventions in 1902, 1904, and 1905, policies were debated, Congress petitioned, and the discipline of the party perfected. During this period the party included some of the ablest men in the archipelago, whose labors of cooperation entitled them to the confidence and gratitude of the government. Of their ranks were most of the Filipinos selected during this period for public appointment.

Persons who held more radical views and upheld the principle of independence maintained no organization for a number of years. The existence of rebellion and brigandage down to 1906 made the agitation for independence dangerous and such advocacy was forbidden by the "Treason and Sedition Law." This law penalized every form of secret association and provided that until it had been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection no longer existed in the Philippines, it should be unlawful for any person to advocate orally, or by writing or

[1] Page 164, Report, 1901.

printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States.[1]

The government was not left free, however, from troubles occasioned by agitators or revolutionists. Among the prominent "irreconcilables" (*intransigentes*) who returned from exile was Mr. Isabelo de los Reyes, who during the period of active insurrection had published in Europe an anti-American journal entitled *Filipinas ante Europa.* He was joined by Dr. Dominador Gomez, who had been in the medical service of the Spanish army. They started what was ostensibly a labor organization called *La Unión Obrera.* In October, 1903, Reyes began the publication of a labor and socialist organ, *La Redención del Obrero.*[2] The government regarded this union as an illegal association and Dr. Gomez was three times unsuccessfully prosecuted on the charge of founding and supporting such an organization. About the same time the "Nationalist Party" was organized by Mr. Pasqual Poblete, the editor of a Manila paper called *El Grito del Pueblo.* This paper advocated amnesty to the ladron leaders or "cabecillas" and urged these revolutionists to surrender on condition that the United States would promise independence.

The disturbed condition which had prevailed during Mr. Wright's administration, the sedition in Manila, the brigandage that prevailed in Cavite and Batangas, and the Pulahan devastation on Samar had all retarded the participation of the Filipinos in political affairs, and caused the government to look with suspicion upon such activity as that above described. But the improved con-

[1] Act 292, enacted Nov. 4, 1901.

[2] See Nos. 11 and 15 of this publication for a history of the organization.

ditions of order made it possible for Mr. Ide to adopt a more friendly attitude toward political groups whose proximate aim was independence. Expectations of the early inauguration of the Philippine Assembly were bringing forward many ambitious young Filipinos disposed to enter public life and willing to coöperate with the American authorities for the advance of the country.

Elections of 1905 and 1906. — The biennial elections for municipal officers occurred in December, 1905, and those for provincial governors in the following February. Unusual interest attended them. Good order was maintained everywhere, but the number of disputed elections was very great. In some provinces every municipal election was contested. In one province 19 successive ballots for governor were necessary before a candidate was chosen. Of the 32 provinces organized under the Provincial Government Act, governors were popularly elected in 29. In Cavite, Samar, and Isabela, where political rights had been suspended, the governors were appointees of the Governor-General. Of the above 29 men chosen by representatives of the people, only one, Mr. Reynolds in Albay, was an American. The others for the most part were representatives of a new spirit. They were noticeable for their youth, progressive attitude, and eagerness to prove themselves able and efficient in their positions. Their election marked a general advance in the spirit of coöperation between the provincial authorities and Manila. Several, like Cailles in Laguna, Luna in Ilokos Sur, Zialcita in Bataan, and Sandiko in Bulakan, had been leaders in the insurrection against American authority a few years before. Others had not previously been conspicuous in public affairs. Such were Osmeña in Cebu, De Veyra

in Leyte, Quezon in Tayabas, Borja in Bohol, Gabaldon in Nueva Ecija, Arnedo in Pampanga, and Artacho in Pangasinan. The ability displayed by these men as governors led to their taking a leading part in the subsequent politics of the country and in the Philippine Assembly. The large influence subsequently exerted by Mr. Osmeña, who was to be the first speaker of the Assembly, gives interest to a petition framed under his influence that was presented to Secretary Taft and party on their visit to Cebu, August 15, 1905. This memorial petitioned for a declaration by Congress of its ultimate policy for the Philippines, the creation of positions of undersecretaries of departments to be filled by Filipinos, greater limitations upon executive and legislative authority, modifications in the criminal procedure in favor of the criminal, for the assignment and transfer of judges of first instance by the Supreme Court rather than the executive, for greater economy in certain branches of administration, for the reorganization of the constabulary on a popular basis, for the removal of treasurers from the classified civil service, for the protection of Filipino labor, and protested the grant of perpetual and irrevocable franchises.

The time had come for the free organization of the Filipinos into political parties, and several parties now appeared.

Organization of New Parties.—The immediate independence party, *Partido Independista Inmediata*, was founded July 1, 1906.[1] The membership embraced the more radical of those seeking to attain independence by legal means. Among their members were Messrs. Ledesma,

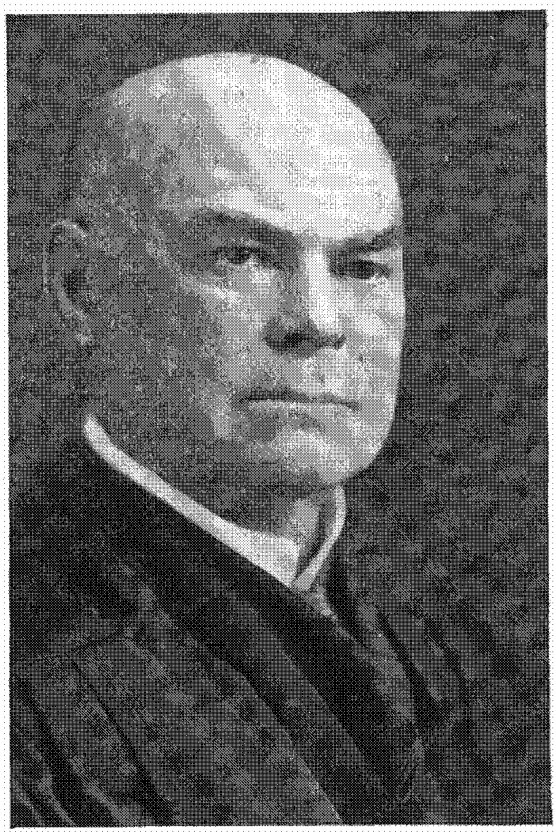
[1] See *El Renacimiento* of July 2, 1906, for an account of organization and for the platform.

Barretto, Sandiko, Osmeña, Fernando Maria Guerrero, and Dr. Lukban, a brother of the insurgent general. A committee of the party waited upon Governor Ide to inform him of their legal intentions. They were affably received. The periodical *La Independencia* was founded as the organ of the party, which also had the active support of the very influential Filipino journal *El Renacimiento.*

A party of more moderate workers for independence who were opposed to immediate separation from the United States formed the *Partido Unión Nacionalista* on March 12, 1907. Among their members were such influential Filipinos as Del Pan, Apacible, Liongson, Ocampo, and Professor Leon Maria Guerrero.

Numerous attempts to solidify these elements gradually resulted in uniting those working for early independence of the Islands into a single national party. It is to be observed, however, that all of these parties proclaimed for a guaranteed independence, or an independence under American protection. The only political element expressing its advocacy of immediate independence without American support of any kind was the radical association of Dr. Dominador Gomez. Meanwhile, the Federal Party continued its activities and still appeared to be the best organized and most strongly supported political aggregation. Its early policy of entrance into the American Union had become demonstrably hopeless and ultimate nationality was too attractive and legitimate an aspiration to be denied. At a conference held in January, 1907, the Federal Party, while reaffirming its adhesion to principles published in 1905, changed its name to the " Progressive Party " (*Partido Nacional Progresista*), and its program to one of ultimate nationality. The party organ continued to be *La Democracia.*

Inauguration of Governor-General Smith. — In the midst of these active political movements Mr. Ide retired from the service of the Islands and General James F. Smith was inaugurated Governor-General on September 20, 1906. A week later Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs, was appointed Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction. General Smith was a native Californian and at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War an attorney in San Francisco. He was a member of the first military expedition to the Islands, and colonel of the 1st California Infantry. After military service in the vicinity of Manila he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and military-governor of the island of Negros, where the people had organized an independent government and sought American sovereignty. Subsequently he became Collector of Customs for the Philippines, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and on January 1, 1903, Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction. He possessed wide acquaintance with the Filipinos, and sympathy for their aspirations.



Governor-General Smith.

Immediately upon his inauguration the Governor-General assembled the provincial governors in Manila in a conference, which opened on October 1. Governor Osmeña of Cebu was chosen presiding officer. The conference considered a number of matters submitted by the chief executive, among them the new election law, the question of the land tax, road construction, financial conditions, agriculture, sanitation, and municipal economy. As a result of its recommendations two important changes were made in the provincial governments,—the third member became elective and the boards were empowered to impose or suspend the land tax. This tax had been provided in 1901 for the support of local government, but it was foreign to Philippine fiscal experience and was unpopular. The method of assessment was imperfect. Owing to these facts and to the agricultural depression, the Commission had twice suspended its operation, providing for local needs by insular appropriations. Now, faced by the alternative of imposing the tax themselves or foregoing local funds, the provincial boards in all but two provinces imposed the tax in 1907.

The Philippine Assembly. — The opening of the Philippine Assembly was the distinguishing incident of General Smith's administration, as well as the culmination of the legislative program of Congress for the Philippines. To many students of colonial government the creation of this native legislature appeared radical and dangerous. It was without precedent in tropical colonies. Spain never permitted the establishment of a legislative body in any of her great dependencies of either America or Asia, legislative power being strictly reserved to the home government. Legislation took the form in the early centuries of Spanish

empire of statutes of the Council of the Indies and later of ministerial decrees. Nor was there precedent for a native legislature in the colonial governments worked out by England, France, and other colonial powers. The "legislative councils" of the British Crown Colonies contain members appointed from the natives of the locality, but these representatives never constitute a separate body, are always in the minority, and, if elected and not appointed by the government, are chosen as representatives of particular interests. The principle of popular representation has been considered a dangerous and improper one to apply to the governance of tropical colonies.[1] But in many particulars Americans in the Philippines had preferred more liberal policies than those sanctioned by colonial experience elsewhere. The political ambitions of the Filipinos had seemed legitimate and promising. The Schurman Commission of 1900 proposed a legislature of two chambers on the model of an American territorial legislature. The Taft Commission in its early reports outlined a plan of government to consist of an upper house of appointed members, partly official and partly non-official, with the chief executive of the Islands as president, and a lower house elected by restricted suffrage. The creation of a Filipino assembly was urged by Mr. Taft at the time of his appearance before Congress in the winter and spring of 1902. Republicans in the

[1] See several criticisms of the American plan by Professor Reinsch, *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, 1904, and "Municipal Government in the Philippines," *Nat. Conf. City Govt.*, 1903, pp. 194–201; Mr. Alleyne Ireland, *Outlook*, vol. 78; Mr. John Forman, *Contemporary Review*, vols. 86 and 91; Mr. Hugh Clifford, *Living Age*, 251.

House generally supported the project, but the Senate was more conservative.[1]

The two houses of Congress compromised by providing for an assembly, but deferring its inauguration until two years after the taking of a census of the Islands and subject to a condition of peace and order to be determined by the President of the United States. The law further provided that the Philippines should be represented after the manner of American territories by two resident commissioners at Washington with seats in the House of Representatives, but without votes.

One feature of the proposed assembly deserves special mention. The two houses of the legislature, namely the appointed commission and the elected assembly, were to have coördinate legislative powers. Bills could be introduced in either body and the consent of both bodies was necessary in order that any bill become a law. The history of two-chamber legislatures has usually been that the more popular house has acquired control of the government through refusal to vote supplies. It was not the wish of the framers of the Philippine Assembly law that this body, when created, should be able in the historical manner to coerce the Commission. Consequently it was provided that in the event of the two houses' being unable to agree upon appropriations, the budget of the preceding fiscal period would remain in force, the definite sums appropriated for specific purposes being considered reappropriated for the ensuing period. This curious device seems

[1] Interesting light upon the history of this measure is afforded by Mr. Taft's speech at the inauguration of the Assembly and by an address of Senator Beveridge (who in Congress opposed the grant of an assembly) at the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia in 1907.

to have been borrowed from the Constitution of Japan[1] in which it was presumably inserted by the great constitution maker Prince Ito. It may be further presumed that Ito derived the idea from the experience of Bismarck and the Prussian Diet.[2]

The Philippine Census. — The insurrection was reported officially to be at an end September 8, 1902. The census was organized by an army officer, General J. P. Sanger, who had taken the census of Cuba, assisted by Mr. Henry Gannett of the United States Geological Survey, and Mr. Victor Olmsted of the Bureau of Statistics. The census was taken during the year 1903, largely through employment of local officials. It was proclaimed and published March 27, 1905. It showed the total population of the Archipelago to be 7,635,426, of whom 6,987,686 were Christian peoples.[3] The law establishing the Assembly restricted its jurisdiction to those parts of the Islands not inhabited by Mohammedans and pagan peoples, and thus the Christian provinces alone were entitled to choose representatives. The census determined with approximate exactness the population of each province, municipality, and barrio in the Islands and afforded a basis for the distribution of representation to a popularly elected legislature. Two years after the proclamation of the census the election was proclaimed, the date being set for July 30, 1907.

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[1] See Japanese Constitution, article LXXI.

[2] It may be noted further that the provision has been introduced also into the constitution of the island of Porto Rico, since a deadlock between the upper and lower chambers of the legislature of that American possession.

[3] The Census of the Philippines, 4 vols. Washington, 1905.

Qualifications of Electors. — In anticipation of the elections for the Assembly the Commission had on January 9, 1907, enacted a new election law (Act No. 1582) which divided the Christian provinces into 78 assembly districts with two additional districts for Manila. The law provided a non-partisan board of inspectors in each municipality and an official secret ballot, and penalized corrupt practices. The conditions of suffrage remained as originally provided in the Municipal Act of 1901,[1] which had followed somewhat the provisions of the "Maura Law" proclaimed by the Spanish government in 1893. Voters were restricted to male persons twenty-three years of age, not subjects of any other power, with a residence of six months in their district, who, prior to August 13, 1898, had held local office, or who owned real property to the value of five hundred pesos, or who could speak, read, and write either the English or Spanish language. The total number of voters registered for the election of the Philippine Assembly of 1907 was 104,966. Of these 34,227 declared themselves Nacionalistas and 24,234 Progresistas.[2]

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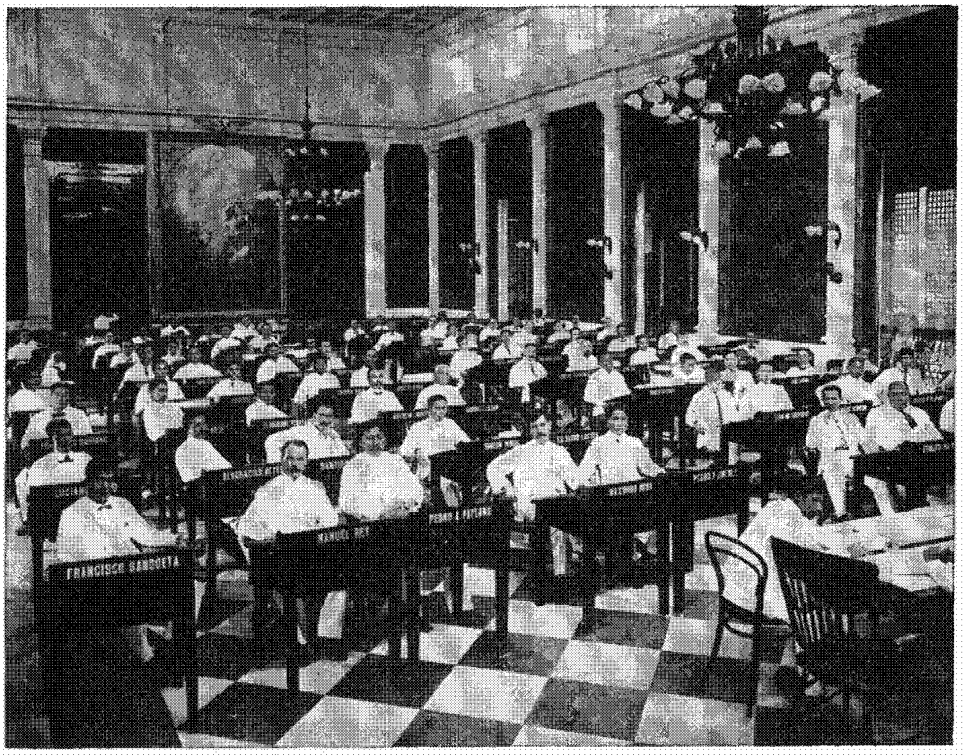
[1] Act 82 Philippine Commission, enacted January 31.

[2] In the election of November 2, 1909, the registration was almost double that of July, 1907, amounting to 208,845, and 92.40 per cent. of the registered electors voted. Incomplete returns made at the date of the report of the Executive Secretary for 1912 showed the registration for that year 249,805, of whom 61,805 exercised the suffrage by reason of having held office, 60,533 through property qualifications, and 81,916 by the possession of educational qualifications. This total registration was equal to 3½ per cent. of the census population and showed that the proportion of literate voters to the population was 1.47 per cent.



The first Assembly in session.

The First Session of the Assembly.— The result of the election of 1907 and of both subsequent elections was to indicate a large preponderance of Nationalist strength. Election to this first Assembly was greatly coveted. Unusual efforts were made by candidates. The Election Law, following a doubtful American practice, required delegates to be "residents" of the districts choosing them. This provision caused a general exodus of politicians from Manila to the provinces. Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War, who had been so largely responsible for the creation of the Assembly, came to the Islands for its inauguration. He and his party arrived in Manila October 15, 1907, and on the following morning at nine o'clock the inauguration took place in the Grand Opera House. The provisions of the law and of executive orders were

read, addresses were made by Governor-General Smith and Secretary Taft, prayer was offered by Bishop Barlin of Nueva Cáceres, the roll of delegates was called and the Assembly declared opened. The meeting adjourned to meet at the Ayuntamiento in the afternoon. In this latter meeting Mr. Osmeña was chosen "speaker" and an organization begun. In the first days of the session rules were adopted, committees formed, and a procedure developed. A considerable number of bills had been prepared by different members and were soon introduced. The first to be passed was the "Gabaldon Act" providing a million pesos for building barrio schools. The inaugural session was followed by the "first session" and that by a "special session," the legislature finally adjourning June 19, 1908. The second session of the First Legislature was held February 1 to May 20, 1909. Sixty-nine bills passed both bodies and became laws.[1] About half of those which passed the Assembly and a number which passed the Commission failed to pass both houses. Several bills were enacted after "conference committees" had dicussed them. During the same period the Commission enacted six laws for the government of non-Christian peoples.

A general appropriation bill was among those enacted. The preparation of a budget is properly an executive matter, and for some years the regular annual budget had been prepared in the office of the Executive Secretary for submission to the Commission. The American Congress, however, had always prepared the appropriation bill in

[1] Among these were bills establishing a Bureau of Labor (Act 1868), creating the University of the Philippines (Act 1870), and providing general appropriations for the government (Act 1873).

the House Committee on Ways and Means without the aid of an executive budget. Unfortunately and unscientifically this example influenced the Commission to turn over to the Assembly the function of estimating the government's needs.

On the whole the attitude of the first legislature was commendably prudent and conservative and relations between Commission and Assembly were harmonious and helpful, much being due to the tact and influence of the Governor-General. Toward the end of the first session strong influence was exerted to pass through the Assembly a resolution calling upon Congress to grant independence. Many delegates had been elected on the promise of securing such action. The resolution was not passed, but in a rather singular manner endorsement was given to the policy of independence by a vote approving the sentiment of an address to the Assembly made by Speaker Osmeña in which was asserted the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government. The most dramatic feature of the session was the prolonged but unsuccessful effort of Dr. Dominador Gomez to secure a seat. The Assembly finally voted him to be ineligible to election.

Senator Sergio Osmeña.

The first legislature chose as Resident Commissioners at Washington, Mr. Benito Legarda of the Commission and Mr. Pablo Ocampo de Leon. In 1909, Mr. Legarda and Mr. Manuel Quezon of the Assembly were chosen Resident Commissioners by unanimous vote of both houses sitting separately. In 1913 the Resident Commissioners were Mr. Quezon and Mr. Manuel Earnshaw, a manufacturer of Manila.[1]

The Second Session of the Assembly. — The Second Assembly, chosen in 1909, showed a still larger Nationalist preponderance. Some of the most prominent members of the preceding legislature were not re-elected. The Second Legislature held a special session March 28 to April 19, 1910; a first session October 17, 1910, to February 3, 1911; a second session October 16, 1911, to February 1, 1912; and a final special session February 2 to February 6, 1912, Congress by Act of February 27, 1909, having changed the law so as to provide a four-year term. This Assembly was more radical than the first. The number of disagreements with the Commission over legislation was large. Many measures failed to pass more than one body. The effort to pass an appropriation bill failed at each session and the budget of 1908 continued to be the current appropriation. Among Assembly measures rejected by the Commission were bills repealing the treason and sedition act, the "bandolerismo act," the "flag act" and the race-track law; to abolish the death penalty; to suppress

[1] Materials for the study of the Philippine Legislature are found in the *Journal of The Philippine Commission*, vols. I to VI, Manila, 1908 to 1913; *Diario de Sesiones de la Asemblea Filipina*, vols. I to VII, and in the *Laws and Resolutions of the Philippine Legislature*, commencing with vol. VII.

the Civil Service Bureau; bills to extend the powers of local governments, and numerous bills carrying appropriations of money. The two houses were unable to agree upon the choice of Resident Commissioners to Washington, for the term commencing March 4, 1911. Congress by Act of February 15, 1911, provided that incumbents should hold office until their successors were chosen. On December 10, 1910, the Assembly passed a joint resolution requesting Congress to accord the Filipino people the right to frame and adopt a constitution of their own for the Archipelago. The Commission, by a nearly unanimous vote, laid this resolution on the table.[1]

Changes in the Commission. — Meanwhile the Philippine Commission had undergone many changes. Congress by Act of May 12, 1908, increased the number of members to nine and authorized the President to increase by one the number of secretaryships. On July 1, 1908, Mr. Forbes was appointed Vice-Governor-General and Mr. Gregorio Araneta, the attorney-general, Secretary of Finance and Justice, this position having been vacant since the appointment of Mr. Ide as Governor-General in 1906. Judge Newton W. Gilbert, who for several years had been judge-at-large of the court of first instance, and Mr. Rafael Palma, a member of the Assembly from Cavite, were appointed commissioners. Early in 1909 Secretary Shuster returned to the United States, his resignation being accepted on March 1, and Mr. Gilbert succeeded him as Secretary of Public Instruction. On the same date was accepted the resignation of Dr. Pardo de Tavera, and Judge Juan Sumulong of Rizal province was appointed to

[1] See *Commission Journal*, No. 4, pp. 267, 340–47.

succeed him. Mr. Frank A. Branagan, the insular treasurer, was appointed commissioner on March 4. In May Governor-General Smith retired, to be succeeded by Mr. Forbes; and a little later Mr. Charles B. Elliott of Michigan was appointed Secretary of Commerce and Police. Thus only two members, Secretary Worcester and Mr. Luzuriaga, remained of the eight who had begun the notable work of government and legislation in 1901.

Administration of Governor-General Forbes. — Governor-General Forbes was exceedingly interested in the industrial and economic sides of the Philippine problem. He inclined to the view expressed by many students of colonial government, that education and political participation should wait upon economic development. He insisted upon curtailing the program for the general education of the people. In public addresses he counselled the Filipinos to devote less thought to politics and more to private business. In view, however, of the great eagerness of Filipinos for education, their surprising ability to advance themselves as soon as their ignorance is relieved, and their

Governor-General Forbes.

intense preoccupation in the political future of their country, it was idle to urge them to diminish their interest in the intellectual and political advance of their race and unstatesmanlike not to recognize that the problems of consummate difficulty in the Philippines would continue to be political in character.

Both as Secretary of Commerce and Police and as Governor-General, Mr. Forbes secured the devotion of many millions of dollars to public improvements, including the Benguet Road, the "summer capital" at Baguio, and a great program of highways. Some of these works may never be fully justified by the use given them by a population living mainly on the coasts and largely deprived of vehicles and draft animals, but other improvements originated or advanced by Mr. Forbes are of demonstrated benefit. Such are the port works of Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu, artesian wells furnishing pure drinking water to hundreds of municipalities, and the use of reinforced concrete for the public buildings of the islands.

Congressional Investigation of the Friar Lands. — Since the heated debates of Congress in the spring of 1902, the question of the Philippines had seldom been treated in a partisan manner and Congress had exhibited every mark of confidence in the integrity of the government in the Philippines. In 1910, however, charges were made by Representative John A. Martin of Colorado that friar lands had been illegally and corruptly disposed of. On June 25, 1910, the House by resolution ordered an investigation. In November, Secretary Worcester and other officials concerned went to Washington and appeared before the committee. The charges of malfeasance appear to have been very recklessly made and were entirely dis-

proved. Nor had lands been disposed of in a manner contrary to the law. Congress in legislating in 1902 had provided that grants from the national domain in the Philippines should be in the form of homesteads of not more than 16 hectares to an individual nor more than 1000 hectares to a single corporation. The Commission in disposing of the friar lands had not felt bound by these limitations. The Philippine public domain was property of the United States and subject to disposal under such conditions as Congress had determined, but the friar lands were entirely distinct and were the possession of the Philippines government. Several large tracts were leased to single individuals, including an official, and the Mindoro estate was sold to an American sugar corporation. If made generally, these large disposals would be inimical to the policy of developing small landowners, but the situation of the Mindoro estate on an uninhabited and undeveloped coast strongly recommended its sale to a corporation with resources sufficient to develop it and encourage the settlement of that island. In view of the criticism which the sale or lease of large tracts had awakened, the administration at Washington instructed the Philippines government to seek only small lessees and occupants. The policy of the United States to open the public lands of the Philippines to homesteaders had not been successfully carried out by the Philippine government. The population is not naturally migratory and its ignorance and helplessness have prevented the general preëmption of vacant lands. It may be questioned whether the efforts of the government to settle the public domain by Filipino homesteaders had been adequate and intelligent and whether the proper policy for the government would not have been to adopt a more

paternal attitude, lease lands to tenants, in necessary cases supply certain improvements, and retain the title in the government.

Agricultural Prosperity. — Industrial conditions were greatly benefited by the passage of the Payne Tariff Act, October 6, 1909. Since the acquisition of the Islands Congress had steadily refused to admit their products to the markets of the United States free of duties. Philippine sugar and tobacco had sought markets elsewhere without success. The copra had largely gone to France. Hemp had been injured by the competition of the hennequin of Yucatan. After years of effort, however, President Taft succeeded in securing practically free admission of Philippine products.[1] The effect on Philippine agriculture was immediate. The area of cultivated land in Occidental Negros increased about 50 per cent. in the year. Prices rose for the tobacco growers in the Kagayan valley. Business felt the effect and exports and imports were stimulated. The total foreign trade of the Philippines for the fiscal year 1912 was $104,869,816, of which 40 per cent. was with the United States. The partial suppression of the rinderpest, which had destroyed the herds of the Islands in 1902 and had since been endemic, was secured by the use of general and local quarantine. In 1911 it was believed the carabaos had increased to over 1,000,000, while the loss from animal plague had been reduced to approximately 3,000 per annum.

Tropical agriculture, while rewarding under good conditions, is peculiarly subject to losses. Plant and animal

[1] Rice is excepted, and the amounts of sugar and tobacco are limited. The Philippines, however, have exported no rice for many decades and in 1911 sugar shipments to the United States reached only 55 per cent. of the free limit and cigars 46 per cent.

diseases, fluctuations of prices and instability of markets, unite with uncertain conditions of labor to produce discouragement. To all these difficulties the Philippine government now gave much attention, seeking to destroy pests, introduce new crops, and improve methods of farming. The condition of the agriculturist differs much in different parts, as well as the rate of wages and the standard of living. In the hemp regions wages are high. In certain provinces there are many small landowners or peasant proprietors; in others the land forms large estates or "haciendas" and the cultivator is a tenant or laborer. One of the foremost aims of the work of education has been to increase and enlighten the class of small farmers.

Damage from Typhoons. — From one great source of loss, however, no protection suffices, and this is the annual injury done by typhoons. The situation with respect to these hurricanes is peculiar. The fertile East Indies to the south are entirely spared. Occasionally the coasts of Indo-China and southern China are visited, and Japan frequently suffers; but the Philippines lie immediately in the path of these cyclonic movements and each year the loss mounts into the millions. The Weather Bureau with its service of skilled Jesuit observers furnishes warnings of these storms, and yet the loss of life is sometimes great. In 1905 the "Cantabria typhoon" sunk the coasting steamer of that name with the loss of all on board and the coast-guard cutter "Leyte" with loss of all but two. In 1906 no less than four "first class" typhoons swept different sections of the Archipelago, and in Kagayan the loss to human life was very large. In 1912 a most disastrous typhoon swept the city of Cebu and is believed to have occasioned the death of a thousand people. In estimating the relative

backwardness of certain improvements in the Philippines allowance must be made not only for the rapidity of decay but for the persistent destruction of these storms.

The Taal Disaster. — The Philippines are of volcanic formation. Activity has diminished in historic times and losses from eruption and earthquake are seemingly less than in earlier centuries. There are, however, no less than twelve volcanoes still more or less active. Of these the most notable is Mayon, which was in eruption at least twenty-five times in the nineteenth century, and next in activity is Taal. In 1754 Taal erupted with violence and destroyed the towns of Taal, Lipa, and Tanawan, which at that time were built on the shores of the lake in the midst of which the volcano rises. From that date, while constantly active and an object of great interest, Taal volcano inflicted no damage until the night of January 30, 1911, when after some hours of premonitory quaking and exploding it suddenly erupted with terrific force, emitting deadly blasts of gas and dropping masses of scalding mud for miles southward. The light of incandescent gases was witnessed at Manila 40 miles away, and the explosion was heard at Dagupan, 160 miles distant. Numbers of villages about the lake were utterly destroyed and at least 1300 people perished. The extent of the tragedy was not at first appreciated at Manila, until adventurous officials traversed the locality and discovered hundreds of half buried bodies among the ruined villages. Then relief forces were sent, including constabulary and Red Cross representatives, and attention was given to such injured as survived. The following year the government established a seismological station on the shore of the lake to observe future phenomena and give warning of danger.

Visit of Secretary Dickinson.—Between July and October, 1910, the Philippines were visited by the Secretary of War in Mr. Taft's Cabinet, Hon. J. M. Dickinson. During his stay a lengthy address was presented to him by the Nationalist Party, reviewing the question of the capacity of the Filipinos for independence. A joint memorandum from both political parties was also presented to him in which certain "reforms" were asked. These included the repeal of limitations on the legislature, the "separation of powers" in the Commission, an elective Senate, and especially the extension of the Assembly's jurisdiction to those considerable portions of the Archipelago inhabited by pagan and Mohammedan peoples which were governed exclusively by the Commission.[1]

The Non-Christian Peoples. — The problem of the non-Christian peoples is one of the most serious obstacles to those advocating an early independence for the Philippines. The events of recent years, the revolution against Spain, the insurrection against American authority, and especially the efforts of the government to unite the Filipinos by education in a common language and by training under common liberal institutions have gone far toward making the ten or eleven distinct Christian peoples a single nation. But the pagan peoples form an unassimilated stock, and between Christian and Moro persists the enmity left by centuries of piracy and war. Congress in providing a Philippine Assembly judged that these peoples should properly have no representation, while the principle of self government for Filipinos did not necessitate subjecting the non-Christian peoples to the legislation of the Christian.

[1] See report of J. W. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines, Washington 1910, Appendices B and C.

The results of American effort in behalf of the pagan peoples appeared to justify leaving them to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Commission. Late in 1901 the Commission had created the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to make a general exploration of those portions of the Islands inhabited by these peoples, investigate their character and condition, and recommend legislation for their government. A preliminary reconnaissance of the pagan and Mohammedan peoples was completed by officers of this bureau in about two years. Several provincial governments of a special type with appointed officials were organized. The Reorganization Act placed all these regions under the special administrative oversight of the Secretary of the Interior, and from this time gratifying progress was made. In the great Cordillera Central of northern Luzon, inhabited by several hundred thousand Igorot, relations between Americans and mountaineers were very friendly. Trails were built, headhunting was abated, and schools were founded. In August, 1908, by Act No. 1876 the government of this region was consolidated in one jurisdiction known as the Mountain Province, with seven sub-provinces, Benguet, Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontok, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao. The capital was placed at the large native town of Bontok in the heart of the Cordillera. Other provinces under the special administration of the Commission were Nueva Vizcaya, where the Christian inhabitants are few; Mindoro, with an unexplored interior inhabited only by forest Mangyan, and Palawan, where the Christian population is confined to the small islands of Kuyo and little settlements elsewhere. In August, 1907, the lower and middle valley of the Agusan river and the interior of the province of Misamis, as far south as the eighth parallel

of latitude, were separated from the Christian provinces of Surigao and Misamis and formed into a non-Christian province called Agusan with two sub-provinces, Butuan and Bukidnon.[1] The inhabitants of these regions of Mindanao are all pagan forest people, Manobo, Mandaya, and Bukidnon. They had been entirely neglected by the provincial authorities and were in need of government and of protection from the exploitation of traders from the coast. The work accomplished in all these regions for the civilization and well being of the natives is one of the most interesting and commendable features of American government in the Islands.[2]

Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior, 1900–1913.

The Moros. — If the reasons for not placing the pagan peoples under the government of Filipinos were valid, they seemed to be doubly so in the case of the Moros. By historical and religious ties the peoples of southern

[1] Act 1693.

[2] See the reports of the Secretary of Interior for years 1908 to 1913 inclusive. Also several remarkably illustrated articles by Mr. Worcester in the *National Geographic Magazine* for March, 1911, September, 1912, and November, 1913.

Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago are connected not with the northern inhabitants of the Philippines but with the Mohammedan Malays to the south. The Sultan of Sulu is nominal sovereign of North Borneo. As in the rest of the East Indies, trade connections are with Singapore rather than Manila. The long piratical wars of the Spaniards with the Sultanates of Magindanao and Sulu left the Moros still the aggressors until the middle of the last century. The arrival of steam gunboats and the destruction of the Samal pirates in 1848 freed the Philippines from the raids of the corsairs, but Spain's authority was not fully asserted even at the end of her rule. In 1860 a royal decree established the politico-military government of Mindanao. The town of Jolo was captured by the Spaniards in 1876 and two years later the Sulu archipelago was added to the above jurisdiction. The Treaty of 1878 with the Sultan of Sulu was the final expression of relation with Spain. It left the Sultanate in the position of a protectorate rather than a dependent state.[1] Spain's sovereignty over this archipelago was questioned by England and Germany, but in 1882 she made her authority effective by placing garrisons on Bongao, Siasi, and Tawitawi.

The subjugation of Mindanao was no less difficult. War was waged against Datu Utu in the Rio Pulangi valley in 1887, and in 1888 Weyler began an invasion of the Lanao region which established the Spaniards at Marawi but left unsubjugated the lake basin. Such were the conditions when in May, 1899, the Spaniards evacuated and American garrisons took their places at Sambo-

[1] See Saleeby, *History of Sulu*, for history of relations and texts.

anga, Jolo, and Cotabato. The situation was a difficult one for the Americans. The Filipino insurrection which had broken out employed the bulk of their forces. Every consideration recommended an avoidance of trouble with the Moros. Under instructions from the commanding general, a treaty was negotiated with the Sultan of Sulu by Gen. J. C. Bates somewhat after the form of the Spanish treaty of 1878. Owing to imperfections of translation, however, both sides gained an erroneous idea of what had been conceded.[1]

This was the situation until 1903. Fighting with the Moros was avoided except for an expedition which penetrated to Lake Lanao from the south coast and established an American post on the south side of the lake. American garrisons occupied important points and naval detachments Isabela de Basilan and Pollok, but there was little interference with native affairs outside of these stations. Conditions throughout the Moro country, however, were most unsatisfactory. Slave parties were active; the tribes of Mindanao were raided and oppressed; there was violence and disorder everywhere. The Sultan of Sulu, Jamalul Kiram, was in a weak position and his datus defied him. The Sultan of Magindanao, Mangingin, had fled from the Cotabato valley in fear of a rival, Datu Ali, and was a refugee on Dumankilas Bay. Such conditions could not be ignored and it was felt that American authority must be exerted. On June 1, 1903, the Commission passed an act for the organization and government of the Moro Province, which was made to embrace the

[1] "Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, Message of the President." Sen. Doc. 136, 56th Cong. 1st sess. The authentic reading of the Moro copy is given in Saleeby's *History of Sulu.*

five districts or sub-provinces of Sulu, Samboanga, Lanao, Cotabato, and Davao. The law was based mainly on a draft prepared by Gen. Geo. W. Davis, who had been in command of the American forces in this region. It intrusted the government of the Moro Province to a board of six members,— a governor, secretary, treasurer, engineer, attorney, and superintendent of schools. This board was given large legislative powers subject to ratification by the Commission. The board was specifically empowered to create local governments among the Moros and pagan peoples and to collect and codify the Moro customary law, giving it such application as seemed proper in suits between the Moros. It was particularly charged to suppress slavery and slave raiding. A governor, secretary, and treasurer were to be appointed for each district. A special constabulary force was authorized in which the Moros could be enlisted. Forestry taxes and customs receipts collected at any ports in the provinces were to be returned to the provincial treasury. The law provided that army officers might be detailed for the executive positions, and as the continued employment of American troops was necessary, this was naturally done. The first governor was Gen. Leonard Wood, who had been governor-general of Cuba during the American occupation. He was succeeded in 1906 by Gen. Tasker H. Bliss and he in 1909 by Gen. John J. Pershing. The policy inaugurated by General Wood for restoring order generally ignored the traditional authority of the sultans and the datus. For the first time in their history the Moros found their internal affairs interfered with and their local governments threatened. There was little understanding and much prejudice on both sides and severe

fighting followed on the island of Jolo, around Lake Lanao and in the Pulangi valley. While the losses from these wars were severe among the Moros and resulted in the death of their most turbulent leaders and fighting men, the resisting spirit of the race was unbroken. Military posts continued to be imperilled by attacks of fanatical devotees, called "juramentados," and outlaws with a few followers continued to murder and raid. One such outlaw and pirate, named Jakiri, was finally killed in a cave near Jolo in 1909. As late as 1912 a numerous band of renegades occupied an extinct crater on Jolo island and were exterminated only after severe campaigning. In several parts of the province progress has been made by the establishment of general markets or "exchanges" and some successful schools have been conducted.

The Davao region contains but few Moro inhabitants, the native people being scattered communities of pagans, Bagobo, Mandaya, and Tagakaolo. Here the abundance of unoccupied land suited to the raising of hemp attracted a considerable number of American planters. Trouble with labor supply occasioned the introduction of Filipino settlers from Cebu and results were fairly encouraging, although the hill people occasionally committed murders and depredations and in 1906 the district governor, Lieutenant Bolton, was murdered by a Tagakaolo chieftain or "bagani."

An exceedingly difficult task undertaken by General Pershing was the disarming of the Moros. The importation of arms from Borneo and other quarters had always been difficult to prohibit, and the Moros themselves are famed forgers of native swords, krises, and barongs. Every datu possessed a number of brass cannon or "lantaka."

The surrender of these arms weakened the resisting power of the Moros and lessened the incentive to violence and slave raiding.

Whatever the future of these Moro peoples, policy seemed to dictate their being left to unhampered American authority. That American rather than Filipino government was their own preference was sufficiently indicated by the passionate statements of several Moro datus to Secretary Dickinson on his visit to Samboanga in 1910.

Summary and Retrospect. — Looking back over the decade which has here been reviewed, the distinctive features of a noble and generous policy can be seen. Peace and order were won from a long and desperate period of commotion and discontent; a judicial system was established with codes of law which made justice prompt and effective; great material improvements were undertaken, railroads were built, navigation was developed, agriculture revived, and commerce expanded to a point of importance in the world's trade. But these attainments, great as they are, would not entitle the Philippines to the special attention of the student of dependencies. Like benefits have been attained elsewhere by just and able colonial governments. Given a well-peopled country of natural wealth and such results are not difficult to men who can draw upon the organized resources and trained effectiveness of the modern world. The distinctive achievement of the American administration in the Philippines was in the social and spiritual transformation of the Filipinos themselves: the pains taken to make better men. American claims of contributing to the world's experience in the governance of empire lie in the personal and political lib-

erty guaranteed to the Filipinos and in the success of popular education.

Public Instruction. — The public school system has been at the basis of the effort and exemplifies the idealism of the American plan. The law establishing the Bureau of Education authorized the employment of a thousand American teachers. Nearly that number were at work in all parts of the Islands in 1902. Subsequently the administration was developed. Superintendents were appointed, one for each province, and in 1904 the provinces were divided into more than 400 districts, each in charge of a supervising teacher, and the effort was made to attain a complete system of primary schools, adequate to give to every child a brief training of three or four years. The most advanced pupils of the American teachers were employed as primary teachers under close supervision and hundreds of schools opened in rural barrios where the population had no opportunities of learning. The response of the Filipinos to this program was immediate. The complete rudimentary education of the Islands was brought within promise of attainment when, by 1908, 600,000 children were under instruction in these schools. English was diffused throughout the Archipelago and a force of 8,000 Filipino teachers was trained to give primary instruction in this language. In 1905 intermediate schools were begun which offered three-year courses following the primary course. These developed into industrial schools with a variety of practical courses. Graduates of these schools were to be found in a very great number of useful occupations, including the civil service. Completing the public school plan were the high schools, one in each province. They are actually colleges or institutes and have ample grounds,

numerous buildings, shops, and dormitories. The high schools are the real intellectual and social centers for each province and have commanded the fullest enthusiasm of the Filipinos, who have made sacrifices to gain them. Two interesting features of the public school work which were given much emphasis were industrial work and athletics. The industrial work in primary schools consisted in instruction in the many beautiful native arts and industries which thus became household employments and contributed to the income of families. This industrial teaching was standardized for all primary schools and especially encouraged by Mr. Frank R. White, who became Director of Education in December, 1909, and who died in Manila, August 7, 1913, after nearly twelve years of educational service in the Philippines. In intermediate and high schools the courses of an industrial character were of foreign introduction and included mechanical drawing, wood and iron working, agriculture, commercial branches, domestic science, and nursing.

Public Health. — The physique of the Filipino is also being modified for the better. The race is physically small, but agile, athletic, and comely. The schools have introduced everywhere the games of ball and athletic sports of America to the notable moral benefit of the population. The old sports of cock fighting and gaming have failed to interest the rising generation. The Bureau of Health scored repeated triumphs in the combat with diseases and in educating the people to a new attitude toward sickness and death. Bubonic plague was practically non-existent after 1903. Smallpox was finally checked after complete vaccination of the population in 1908. Cholera, which appeared sporadically after the epidemic of 1902–3, had been promptly controlled. Tuberculosis and beriberi were yielding before

improved diet and a better standard of life. Leprosy formerly claimed many victims. These had been isolated at the leper colony on the island of Kulion and necessary steps taken against the ravages of this dread affliction.

The Bureau of Science and the University. — Closely associated with the work of public health was the Bureau of Science. It combined biological, medical, and chemical research with the advance of pure science along many lines. It was one of the most remarkable and noble establishments for the discovery of useful knowledge in the tropical world. It is a monument to its first director, Dr. Paul C. Freer, who died in the Islands in 1912.

The University of the Philippines was created by act of the Legislature in 1908. It included colleges of Arts, Medicine, Engineering, Law, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, and a school of Fine Arts.

Filipino Aspirations. — In the face of these benefits the Filipinos were not unappreciative, but they demanded still more. Naturally an ambitious, self-confident, and daring race, they believed themselves already sufficiently numerous, compact, and disciplined to begin independent life as a nation. The policy inaugurated by President McKinley, Secretary Root, and Governor Taft had never been hostile to the Filipinos' ambition for nationality. It had ever treated this aspiration as legitimate. It had, however, taken due account of the difficulties and of the dangers from its too early realization. Having accepted American responsibility for the Archipelago, it guarded the final supremacy of American authority. It was apparent, however, that a complete accord had not yet been reached between Americans and Filipinos and that a new basis of relationship was to be attempted.

CHAPTER XIV.

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE.

1914–1924.

The Presidential Elections of 1913. — The presidential elections of November, 1912, in the United States resulted in the triumph of the Democratic Party over the Republican Party, which had been continuously in power at Washington since 1897. In 1912 the Republican Party was divided. The Progressive Party, led by Theodore Roosevelt, opposed the more conservative elements of the Republican Party, which renominated Mr. Taft. The elections resulted in the choice of Mr. Woodrow Wilson, a former President of Princeton University and Governor of the State of New Jersey. The Congress elected for the session commencing in 1913 was likewise Democratic both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate.

A New Policy in the Philippines. — The two great parties in the United States ever since the Spanish-American War had been sharply divided on the issue of the Philippines. In the election of 1900 the Democrats had made "Imperialism the paramount issue." Again in 1904 attacks upon what had been done in the Philippines formed a large element in the campaign. In 1908 and 1912, the Philippines were little considered, but the platforms of the Democratic Party continued to denounce the retention of the Islands and to advocate the earliest possible separation. The election of President Wilson and the Democratic Congress thus was

considered both in the Philippines and in the United States to presage the end of one policy and the commencement of a radically different one. President Wilson himself was an advocate of his party's policy to liquidate the colonial responsibilities of the nation, and in an early utterance he intimated that he hoped the time would shortly arrive when these territorial responsibilities might cease.

Upon the inauguration of President Wilson, March 4, 1913, the members of the Philippine Commission placed their resignations in his hands. These were all accepted, except that of one Filipino commissioner, Mr. Rafael Palma.

Governor-General Harrison.

Inauguration of Governor-General Harrison. — To the post of Governor-General was appointed Mr. Francis Burton Harrison, who reached Manila on October 6, 1913. Mr. Forbes had already departed, and Vice-Governor Gilbert and Secretary Worcester retired immediately. The position of Secretary of Commerce and Police had been vacant for more than a year. Thus at the commencement of his administration Governor-General Harrison had not a single department head nor one American colleague.

In an address delivered upon the Luneta immediately upon his arrival, Mr. Harrison gave to the people of the

Philippines a message from the President which contained the following significant passage: "Every step will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the Islands will permit." The Governor-General also announced the President's resolution at once to appoint Filipinos to a majority of the positions in the Commission, thus according them control of the upper branch of the Legislature, which possessed all executive powers and the exclusive jurisdiction over the non-Christian peoples.

In fulfillment of this promise the following appointments shortly took effect: Mr. Justice Mapa of the Supreme Court became Secretary of Finance and Justice. Mr. Jaime de Veyra, former Governor of Leyte and a member of the Assembly, Mr. Vicente Singson, member of the Assembly from Ilokos Sur, and Mr. Vicente Ilustre of Batangas became Commissioners. As American members of the Commission President Wilson appointed Mr. Henderson E. Martin of Kansas to be Vice-Governor-General and Secretary of Public Instruction; Mr. John L. Riggs of Maryland to be Secretary of Commerce and Police; and Mr. Winfred T. Denison of New York to be Secretary of the Interior.

Final Period of the Philippine Commission. — For three more years the Commission continued to be the executive authority and the upper branch of the Legislature. Its personnel, however, underwent further change. Mr. Riggs and Mr. Denison resigned from the Commission in 1915 and Mr. Martin in 1916. Mr. Martin was succeeded as Vice-Governor by Mr. Charles E. Yeater of Missouri, who had been prominent in public affairs and a Regent of the

University of Missouri. Mr. Harrison remained Governor-General throughout the two administrations of President Wilson, a period of over seven and one-half years. He has himself called attention to the interesting fact that he was the ninety-fifth Governor or Governor-General of the Philippines and that he held that office for a longer term than any of the preceding forty-four Governors under Spanish and American rule.[1]

The Commission was legally terminated by act of Congress in 1916. It had done remarkable work, but before the end of its service it probably had ceased to correspond to its legal character. A commission is a "collegiate executive." Final authority in all matters is in the group, not in individual members. Governor-General Harrison interestingly records friendly differences of opinion between himself and Commissioner Riggs as to which was the responsible executive of the Constabulary — the Governor as "Commander-in-Chief" or the Commissioner as "Secretary of Commerce and Police." The answer to this question is, undoubtedly, that decision on vexed questions belonged to neither of them but to the Commission sitting as a body. But, from the first, this correct view seems to have been obscured as departmental secretaries unconsciously assumed independent ministerial powers.

Had the genuine character of the Commission been observed, had the secretaries not assumed ministerial independence of one another, it might have been possible, especially after the majority of members became Filipinos, to conduct the government harmoniously and with the general support of the Assembly. In the Commission as finally

[1] Francis Burton Harrison: *Cornerstone of Philippine Independence*, page 63.

constituted, Filipinos, under a general responsibility to the President of the United States, had legally a majority decision in all executive matters, and the Commission was more representative of the Filipino nation than the executive could possibly be when exclusively confided to a Governor-General.

The Philippine Act of 1916. — Although, as we have seen, the President and Congress of 1913 were by both personal and party declaration committed to a policy of independence for the Philippines, the enactment of a new organic law for the government of the Islands suffered considerable delay. The task of drafting such legislation was confided to a Committee of the Senate under the chairmanship of Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska and to a House Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. William A. Jones of Virginia. It was not until 1916 that the so-called "Jones Bill" was enacted.

The measure as originally drawn underwent repeated changes. An amendment offered by Senator Clark of Arkansas proposed to confer complete and unqualified independence upon the Philippines in not less than two years and not more than four years from the date of the act's approval. This amendment as first introduced embodied a temporary guarantee of the independence of the Islands by the United States. It was supported by three Republican Senators and was known to be favored by President Wilson. It passed the Senate by the deciding vote of the Vice-President, but on May 2, 1916, was defeated and struck from the bill by the House of Representatives by a vote of 213 to 165.

Thus the definite proposal to give independence to the Philippines, which had long been the declared policy of the

Democratic Party, was defeated in a Democratic Congress. In place of this proposal of unqualified and immediate independence, a preamble was added to the Jones Act which recited it to be, as it always had been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw from sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government could be established therein.

The law as finally enacted, and as accepted by both Houses and by the Philippine Commissioners at Washington, quite altered the government of the Philippines. The Philippine Commission was abolished. As a legislative body its place was taken by a Philippine Senate composed of 24 members, of whom 22 are elected by senatorial districts and 2 appointed by the Governor-General to represent the provinces mainly inhabited by non-Christian peoples. The Philippine Assembly was redesignated the House of Representatives. Its membership was fixed at 93, of whom 9 were to be appointed by the Governor-General to represent the people of the specially organized provinces. The legislative powers of the reconstituted Philippine Assembly were greatly increased. Congress had previously reserved the right to legislate upon the tariff, coinage, immigration, and public lands. The Legislature was now made competent to deal with these fields, subject to the approval of the President of the United States. The general competence of the Philippine Legislature was made very broad. During the history of the Philippine Commission it had been obliged to appeal to Congress for action necessary to the progress of the Archipelago not less than 124 times. Under authority now given by this bill, future appeal of this kind was made unnecessary.

In reorganizing the executive authority, Congress followed in its most explicit form the American theories of "separation of powers" and of "presidential government." The entire executive power was conferred upon a Governor-General appointed by and responsible to the President of the United States. The Governor-General was given a veto power over acts of the Philippine Legislature, while a further veto was lodged in the President with respect to certain subjects above enumerated. The heads of the executive departments became, by the terms of this bill, the appointees of the Governor-General and his agents for the discharge of administration, as the Secretaries are the agents of the President in the government of the United States. The act specifically declared that "all executive functions of the government must be directly under the Governor-General or within one of the executive departments under the supervision and control of the Governor-General."

The act continued the position of Auditor by appointment by the President. It reëstablished the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes with general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the territory represented in the Legislature by appointive Senators and Representatives, this Bureau to be embraced in one of the executive departments designated by the Governor-General. It continued the system of resident Commissioners in the United States.

It was clearly the purpose of Congress in this act to make the Governor-General solely responsible for the executive branch of the Philippine government, and through this official to provide that the authority of the United States in the Philippines should be commensurate with the responsibilities laid upon the American nation by the fact of its possession. In the language of the Chief of the Bureau of

Insular Affairs, "An act could not be more broadly drawn to prevent invasion of the executive functions than is this act." These facts are here insisted upon at this length by reason of the controversies which subsequently took place in regard to the executive power.

The Jones Act did not escape criticism at the time of its adoption. It was pointed out that the type of colonial government thereby framed, wherein legislative autonomy is granted to a possession while the executive authority is reserved for the representative of the sovereign state, is precisely the type of colonial government which resulted in controversy and bitterness in the British colonies in North America and which was in part the cause of the American Revolution of 1775. It is a system of government which Great Britain, the most informed colonial state, long ago discarded in favor of "dominion government" on the one hand or "crown colony" government on the other hand.

Human nature being what it is, it seems impossible for a governor to discharge fully and competently his responsibilities under this form of government and not provoke at some time the resentment of the legislature. Where "presidential government" operates successfully, as in the United States, the President, who possesses the sole executive authority, is the elected representative of the entire people and is in a stronger position with the nation than Congress itself. But a governor-general, owing his election not to the people of the colony but to the appointment of the sovereign land, cannot make an effective appeal to the people of the country of which he is the head against the opposition of a native legislature. If his acts are unpopular with the legislature, he is almost certain to lose the confidence of the people at large.

The dilemma created by the Jones Act was met by Governor-General Harrison in one way and by his successor in another. Governor-General Harrison interpreted the spirit of the law as requiring him to submit his judgment in executive matters to that of the leaders of the Philippine Legislature. Appointments were made by him only on recommendation of the leaders of the majority party or after the fullest consultation with them. He permitted the heads of departments to feel that they were representatives not of the executive power but of the Legislature, and to shape their actions accordingly. The executive problems that arose he appears to have submitted for resolution to the leaders of the dominant party group. In this way harmony was maintained and the continuous support of the Legislature secured, but only by a relinquishment of responsibility which the law contemplated would be exercised by the Governor-General.

The Council of State. — To give greater effect to this practice of governing through the predominant party in the Legislature, Mr. Harrison by executive order on the suggestion of the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Osmeña, created an executive body called the Council of State. This was composed, under the presidency of the Governor-General, of the presidents of both houses of the Legislature and the heads of the executive departments. Executive matters and public appointments thereafter were determined by the Council of State, apparently by majority vote.

It was undoubtedly the purpose and the expectation of the proponents of the Council of State in this manner to introduce the system of "parliamentary government" into the Philippines and gradually to bring about a system of administration whereby the Governor-General would be

a mere titular head like the Governor-General of Canada, while the real head of the administration, corresponding to the premier of a British dominion, would be the leader of the majority party in the Legislature. Unquestionably there is much to be said in favor of parliamentary government, but the only way in which it might be introduced into the American system is by direct and specific enactment. American organic law is statute law, not, as under the British constitution, largely a matter of custom and of practice, and one searches the Jones Act in vain for the slightest suggestion that it was the intention of Congress in 1916 to admit any substitution of parliamentary for presidential government. It is difficult, therefore, to justify the action of the Governor-General in thus relinquishing responsibility which Congress had placed upon him or to justify the complaints of Filipino leaders when the successor of Governor-General Harrison took upon himself the full legal measure of the responsibilities of office.

Executive Departments. — Under powers given by the Jones Act, the Legislature in November, 1916, passed a reorganization measure, rearranging the executive departments. These departments became six in number: Public Instruction, provided for in the Jones Act itself, the head to be the Vice-Governor appointed by the President of the United States; Finance; Justice; Interior; Commerce and Communications; and Agriculture and Natural Resources. Assistant secretaries were also provided for, so that the Cabinet as finally constituted was as follows:

Public Instruction: Secretary, Vice-Governor Yeater; Assistant Secretary, Felix Roxas, a former mayor of Manila.

Finance: Secretary, Alberto Barretto; Assistant Secretary, Miguel Unson.

Justice: Secretary, Victoriano Mapa; Assistant Secretary, José Escaler.

Interior: Secretary, Rafael Palma, a member of the Senate and its president *pro tem.;* Assistant Secretary, Teodoro Kalaw.

Commerce and Communications: Secretary, Dionisio Jakosalem, ex-governor of Cebu; Assistant Secretary, Catalino Lavadia.

Agriculture and Natural Resources: Secretary, Dr. Galiciano Apacible; Assistant Secretary, Rafael Corpus.

In 1920, Mr. Mapa became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and was succeeded by the attorney-general, Quintin Paredes, and Mr. Palma retired from the public service, to be succeeded by Mr. Kalaw.

Filipinization. — Many changes in the subordinate positions of the administration followed Mr. Harrison's taking of office, and throughout his term the substitution of Filipino appointees for Americans continued. A few of these changes were due to the dismissal of certain heads of bureaus by the Governor-General at the time of taking office. The great majority of them, however, were voluntary retirements of Americans, who were convinced that the Philippine service offered an uncertain future and that their own best interests recommended their resignation. The movement was facilitated by an act of the Philippine Legislature, providing a modest retiring compensation based upon the years of service. The entry of the United States into the World War in 1917 drew most of the remaining Americans into the armed forces of the United States.

The Philippine Civil Service at the beginning of 1913 comprised 2623 Americans and 6363 Filipinos; on July 1, 1921, there were 614 Americans and 13,240 Filipinos. This transformation of personnel, described as the "Filipinization" of the Philippine service, represented a definite policy followed both at Washington and at Manila. While it gratified the Filipinos to succeed to posts previously held only by Americans, the process probably was more rapid and more complete than was desired by the government or even by the Filipino leaders themselves. The progressive transfer of responsible positions to natives of the Philippines was a policy always contemplated, and a certain retardation of development and loss of efficiency were to be expected and should not have been regarded as disappointing. But it is also evident that the process goes too rapidly and too far, if a branch of the service so transformed in personnel not merely loses certain momentum but actually retrogrades. If instead of continued though slower progress an actual decline in the service occurs, then it should be clear that the substitution has been too rapid and too sweeping. That there was backward movement was evidenced through the examination of the Philippine service made at the conclusion of Governor-General Harrison's administration.

The responsibility for the rapid retirement of Americans does not rest wholly with the Philippine government but also with the American Congress. In spite of varied overseas responsibilities, in which men trained in the Philippines have frequently proved their value to the nation, Congress never made any provision for a permanent colonial or overseas service or gave to the men engaged in such service any assurance of more than a brief and hazardous duty, without pro-

vision for a career. Under such uncertainties, able and ambitious men will seldom continue long in public service abroad.

Progress after 1913. — The years of this period are not marked by the creative energy seen in the preceding decade nor by such exceptional triumphs over difficulties. They were years during which the Filipino was largely intrusted with the control of his own affairs and the formulation of his own legislation, sometimes at cost to the public service and to the treasury, but also with the result of accustoming Filipinos to the discharge of administrative tasks in which they previously had only a subordinate part. While there is little to record that is of exceptional interest in the progress of government, public improvements continued, on lines already laid down.

More first-class roads were laid, the mileage increasing to nearly 5000 kilometers, and over 1600 permanent bridges of concrete or steel were constructed. A large number of permanent government buildings were erected, including schools, public markets, hospitals, provincial capitols, and university buildings. Over 900 artesian wells were added to those already drilled, and nearly 100 new systems of water supply were installed or commenced. Extensions in the harbor facilities of Manila were projected and the cost was met by a bond issue of 10,000,000 pesos sold in the United States. Agriculture also advanced, new land being brought under cultivation. Irrigation works were begun and 16 projects, covering over 600,000 hectares of land, were approved. Legislation was passed for the establishment of rural credit societies to lend monetary assistance to the small farmer. The educational work also continued to expand, the appropriations for schools rising to over 18,000,000 pesos

in 1920, with a public-school registration of over 790,000 pupils.

Commerce and Industry during the World War. — The agricultural and economic development of the country was greatly stimulated by the World War, which broke out in Europe in August, 1914. During these years of struggle, the quest for additional raw and manufactured materials had a pronounced effect upon the production and sale of the staple products of the Philippines. Exports rose from less than $48,000,000 in 1913 to the high figure of more than $151,000,000 in 1920, while imports during the same period rose from $53,000,000 to more than $149,000,000. Two thirds of this great commerce was with the United States.

Hon. Manuel Quezon, President of the Senate.

Furthermore, after 1915 exports exceeded imports in value, so that there was for the Philippines a constant favorable balance of trade. This indicated that millions of dollars in profits were coming into the hands of the Filipino people and that they possessed the means for the acquisition of hitherto unknown objects of comfort and of luxury. The standard of living among those who participated in the new

prosperity rose rapidly, and during the height of the war the appearance of Manila was almost that of a wealthy community. All of the staples of Philippine foreign trade enjoyed high prosperity during at least most of these years, especially hemp, sugar, tobacco, copra, and oil derived from the coconut. The demand for vegetable oils being very great all over the world, the industry of expressing the oil rapidly developed in several parts of the Archipelago and attracted the energies of Filipinos as well as of Americans and foreigners. The cessation of the war in 1919 brought a sudden diminution of the world's demand, with a resulting stagnation in Philippine trade that was particularly marked in 1920 and 1921. Losses were very large.

Public Receipts and Expenditures. — The rising prosperity of the Philippines after 1914 was reflected in the increased income from taxation. Receipts from customs rose from less than 11,000,000 pesos in 1914 to more than 19,000,000 pesos in 1920. The internal revenue tax returns rose from less than 10,000,000 pesos to more than 35,000,000 pesos; while miscellaneous receipts, interurban charges, and profits were nearly 33,000,000 pesos in 1920.

When revenues increase rapidly, governments are ever disposed to extravagance. Rise in the expenditures of the Philippine government during these years followed closely the increase of receipts. The cost of maintaining the various bureaus and offices nearly doubled. Aid to provinces and municipalities was multiplied more than six times. The severe collapse of business prosperity in 1920 brought the public finances into peril and required stringent economies and reforms.

The most serious losses to the government, however, were not due to the expansion of the cost of public administra-

tion but to the entry of the government into various forms of business. The capital necessary for the development of Philippine resources has never been attracted sufficiently to the Philippines from abroad. That which exists is largely the result of the earnings of prudent business, in the hands of long-established firms, over years of time. Much the largest amount of foreign investment is British, in spite of American sovereignty during more than a quarter of a century. American capital has always regarded the political future of the Philippines as uncertain and has been difficult to attract.

In 1916, with the rising demands for their products, Filipinos found themselves without the money to organize production in a way to profit from the high prices of the war. In this situation they turned to the government for loans. The Philippine National Bank was chartered by Act 2612 of February 4, 1916. It was made the depository of all public funds, including provincial and municipal. It also received private deposits, and in 1919 its total liabilities for money placed with it amounted to 230,000,000 pesos. Out of these deposits extensive loans were made to finance private development projects. More than 40,000,000 pesos were loaned to sugar producers to construct large modern crushers and refineries known as "centrals." These were largely on the island of Negros.

The Philippine National Bank, as a government institution, was controlled by the government. The board of control consisted of the Governor-General, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. These three officials chose the board of directors by whom the affairs of the bank were conducted. Discretion for the making of loans reposed in the officers of the bank so chosen. The

loans did not generally give evidence of the good business judgment and sense of responsibility required of a bank official. Branches were opened in several cities, including Shanghai. Through the Shanghai branch speculations in the rates of exchange upon foreign currencies occasioned the bank a loss of several millions. There were also defalcations which led eventually to the conviction and imprisonment of the head officer of the institution.

Deceived by the apparent early success of the bank, the Legislature was encouraged to create and finance through the bank a number of business projects in which the government held a majority of the stock and furnished practically all of the money. These included the National Coal Company, chartered March 10, 1917, by Act 2705; the National Oil Company, to prospect for and develop mineral oil, chartered March 4, 1919, by Act 2814; the National Iron Company, chartered March 12, 1919, by Act 2862, "to work the iron ore deposits of the Philippines"; the National Cement Company, chartered March 12, 1919, by Act 2855; and particularly the National Development Company, chartered March 10, 1919, by Act 2849, which was given the broadest powers to undertake the development of the national resources. The actual investment of public money in these enterprises up to June 30, 1920, amounted to nearly 78,000,000 pesos. Such activity of government in the business field must be regarded as exceptional and not based upon precedents elsewhere that have been successful.

Acquisition of the Railroads. — In a different category of public undertaking was the acquisition by the Philippine government of the railroads of Luzon. The Manila Railroad Company, extending northward through the central valley of Luzon, was purchased from the British company which

owned it for the sum of 8,000,000 pesos. This railroad, opened as early as 1891, had been much extended under the American government.

As described in a previous chapter, the government in 1905 had adopted the policy of encouraging railroad development by guaranteeing the interest on the railroad loans for new construction. This guarantee the Philippine government had been required in successive years to meet by provisions aggregating more than 6,500,000 pesos. This fact, together with the inability or unwillingness of these companies to extend their facilities, unsatisfactory service, and evidence of corruption and fraud in the case of the Manila Railway Company, were inducements upon the Philippine Legislature to acquire these properties. While many modern governments have adopted the principle of public ownership of railroads, government railroads have rarely made a satisfactory showing in comparison with those privately owned and operated, and in the United States such a policy has never found much favor. The question is wholly a practical one to be decided by the test of experience. In the present case the unsatisfactory situation attending private ownership with a government subsidy may have constituted an exceptional reason for the acquisition of the railroads.

Moro Policy. — The administration of Governor-General Harrison made a decisive change of policy in dealing with the pagan and Mohammedan peoples. Recent estimates indicate that there are about 540,000 pagans and 435,000 Mohammedans — together less than one tenth of the inhabitants of the Islands; but they are separated from the Christian peoples by rather well-defined territorial limits, by differences of culture, and, above all, by social and religious

prejudices. Previous to 1913 it was customary to regard these differences as likely to continue long and to require a distinct administration, controlled by American rather than Filipino officials. Notable work had been done among both the mountaineers of northern Luzon and the Moros of the southern islands, but contact between these peoples and the Christian peoples had not become perceptibly closer.

Governor Carpenter.

Filipino leaders were disturbed by the possibility of permanent barriers arising and of a separate régime being established for Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. They desired the "assimilation" of the Moros into the common stock and the introduction of Filipino influence and control among them. The opportunity came with the inauguration of Governor-General Harrison and with the desire of General Pershing to retire from the governorship of the Moro Province. It was arranged that the regiments of American soldiers in the Moro land should be withdrawn at the same time, their place being taken by "scout battalions" and by constabulary. To the position vacated by General Pershing, the Governor-General appointed the Chief of the Executive Bureau in Manila, Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, who became Governor of the Moro

Province on December 15, 1913. The province was changed in name to the "Department of Mindanao and Sulu," and to it were added the provinces of Agusan and Butuan.

Governor Carpenter filled this position with conspicuous ability. He was especially successful in his tactful handling of Moro chieftains and in establishing an influence over their courts and households. In March, 1915, he persuaded the Sultan of Sulu to resign his hereditary position for himself and his heirs. The Sultan was recognized as the head of the Mohammedan religion in the islands, granted lands in Jolo, and given a life pension of 12,000 pesos annually. As agents for extending civil authority, Governor Carpenter used constabulary officers, both American and Filipino, medical practitioners and dispensary agents, public school teachers, and Filipino provincial officials. Filipinos were encouraged to enter the Moro country and colonize vacant public lands. In 1918 alone, 12,000 Christian immigrants were settled by the government in the Cotabato valley. Schools among the Moros were rapidly established, and by the end of 1919 there were in the Department 30 American and 785 Filipino teachers and more than 32,000 public school children, of whom nearly one half were girls.

The policy was to associate Americans, Filipinos, and Moros in the same functions of government, secure a general coöperation, and remove the distrust and dislike which had for centuries kept these southern peoples separate and hostile. The passage of the Jones Act enabled the Governor-General to appoint several Moro chieftains and leaders as senators and representatives in the Philippine Legislature.[1]

[1] See a capital little book by a Filipino district health officer at Sulu, *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People*, by Sixto Y. Orosa, M.D., World Book Company, 1923.

The Philippines and the World War. — The United States declared war upon Germany in April, 1917, and from that day until the Armistice, November 11, 1918, the entire resources of the country were devoted to the struggle. War is the great test of the ties between a mother country and its dependencies. The attitude of the Filipino people in this period of trial was admirable. While something was done by the subjects of enemy nations in the Philippines to affect the confidence of the Filipinos in the strength of America's cause, and while one attempt at least was made to incite the Filipinos to insurrection, all such efforts were vain in the face of their loyalty and friendship to the United States and their general feeling that their fortunes were firmly united with those of America. Filipinos in the United States enlisted in the American army and navy. The first of such volunteers who met heroic death in the war was Tomás Claudio. Subscriptions to liberty loans and Red Cross funds were made. In the regular session of the 1917 term, the Legislature adopted a resolution stating " the unequivocal expression of the loyalty of the people of these Islands to the cause of the United States of America." A fortnight later the Legislature by joint resolution authorized the Governor-General to have constructed under the direction of the government of the United States and at the expense of the treasury of the Philippine Islands a modern submarine and a modern cruiser for service under the President in Philippine waters or elsewhere. In 1919 a destroyer named " The Rizal " was launched in San Francisco and put into the service under American officers, but manned by Filipinos. The United States, however, did not accept the Filipino proposition to pay for the cost of this ship.

The valorous spirit expressed itself in the desire to organize

a Filipino Division for service in the American army. The Militia Act, Number 2715, created a Filipino National Guard under the Governor-General as Commander-in-Chief, and on April 25, 1917, the Legislature offered the services of this force for the war. A division was organized in the course of 1917, being preceded by a training camp for officers. In this force, there was a strong hope that it might be equipped and transported to France with the American army. But owing to the difficulties of organizing a typical combat division at such a distance from the sources of supply, and particularly owing to the expense of sea transport for the great distance from Manila to the French front, the sending of this division to the field of operations was never favorably regarded at Washington. Extraordinary efforts were necessary in 1918 to secure sufficient tonnage to transport American troops across the Atlantic, and owing to the deficiency in ships and the number of divisions in the United States (which were naturally in a better state of preparation than it was possible to attain in the Philippines), prospects were never encouraging for actual service for the Philippine Division. It was, however, mobilized at Camp Claudio, near Manila, and on November 20, 1918, was mustered into the Federal service and given one month's training at the expense of the United States government. This training was continued two months longer at the cost of the Philippine treasury.

Independence Demands. — The passage of the Jones Act momentarily arrested the movement for independence in the Philippines. The promise of the preamble to recognize independence as soon as a stable government could be established is somewhat difficult of interpretation because by the ordinary definition of "stable government" that

condition existed in 1916. The stability of no government can be perpetually guaranteed or completely assured, and that existent in the Philippines in 1916 contained as much assurance of stability as the governments of most new states when accorded international recognition. But the Jones Act was, after all, a compromise following the defeat of a bill for immediate independence, and it was desirable that at least a short time should elapse in order that the operations of the reorganized Philippine government might be tested and observed. The war suspended the movement for independence, prudence demanding that separation should not take place while the whole world was in physical commotion and the United States a participant in the struggle.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the Armistice, the Philippine Legislature constituted an Independence Mission to proceed to the United States. It was composed of forty prominent Filipinos, representing the two houses of the Legislature, the commercial, industrial, agricultural, and labor interests. It reached the United States early in 1919.

President Wilson was in Paris representing the United States in the Peace Conferences. He sent a message indorsing the labor of the Mission, and the Secretary of War in replying to the Commission said: "I think I express the prevailing feeling in the United States when I say the time has substantially come, if not quite come, when the Philippine Islands can be allowed to sever the mere formal political tie remaining and become an independent people." The Mission was heard by a committee of Congress, which appeared adverse to immediate action, and returned to the Islands without obtaining a settlement of the issue.

The Democratic Party was defeated in the presidential campaign of 1920, and Mr. Warren G. Harding, the Repub-

lican nominee, became President of the United States, March 4, 1920. In his last message to Congress, President Wilson stated that the conditions prescribed by Congress for the grant of independence had been attained, and he recommended that independence be accorded by Congress.

Wood-Forbes Mission. — As the Philippines had received scant attention from the American people during the period of the World War, President Harding determined, before making recommendation to Congress, to subject conditions in the Islands to a fresh examination. He accordingly constituted a mission composed of Major-General Leonard Wood and Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, with the necessary staff, to proceed to the Islands and survey the situation of the government and of the people. The selection of these gentlemen was favorably received. General Wood had a very distinguished record. He had been Governor-General of Cuba when that island passed into American care at the end of the Spanish-American War and had made a record as an administrator which evoked high praise in the United States and in Europe. He had been Governor of the Moro province and Commanding-General of American forces in the Islands. Mr. Forbes had been appointed a member of the Philippine Commission in 1904, and was Governor-General from 1909 to 1913. Both gentlemen were universally recognized as high-minded and disinterested men, distinguished by candor, superior to personal interest, and of exceptional experience in affairs of administration.

This special mission arrived in Manila on May 4, 1921, and was received in a cordial and friendly spirit. For four months it devoted itself to investigations, which included visits to forty-eight of the forty-nine provinces and confer-

ences in 449 cities and towns. The Mission personally visited administrative and judicial offices, the courts including justices of the peace, schools, hospitals, jails, and other public institutions. It received numerous addresses and memorials and gave great attention to estimating the views of all classes of people. Its report constituted a document of importance in the history of the Islands. It found much to commend in the political progress of the Filipinos; public order was excellent, with the exception of minor disturbances in the Moro regions. The insular prison system was a model, although local jails were generally overcrowded and there were a great many prisoners waiting trial. The development of the school system had been phenomenal. The effort to establish a representative self-government had exerted influence far beyond the Philippines, reaching to all parts of the Orient. The Mission found that the Islands had passed through a period of great prosperity, although then in the midst of a commercial depression. The general contentment of the Filipinos and their spirit of loyalty to the United States were beyond praise.

In some other respects, however, conditions were far from satisfactory. The Commission reported that the constructive work which characterized the period of 1907 to 1913 was not continued in the period that succeeded. It judged that Americans had too rapidly and too fully departed from the service; that there had been a decline in the quality of public service through the creation of "top-heavy personnel and the too frequent placing of influence above efficiency by the beginning of a political bureaucracy." Taxation and expenditures had very greatly increased. The courts were much in arrears in their trial of cases and there were numerous complaints as to the administration of justice. Pub-

lic health had suffered, as shown by a steady increase in the ravages of preventable diseases.

It was, however, in financial affairs that the Mission found most to criticize. The Philippine National Bank, through unwise and dishonest administration, was in a most serious condition. Much of its funds had been loaned out to speculative concerns under circumstances which led to grave doubts as to the good faith of the transactions. Its losses amounted to 75,000,000 pesos. The Currency Reserve Fund of more than 90,000,000 pesos, kept on deposit in New York to maintain the par value of Philippine coins and bills, had been illegally transferred to the Philippine National Bank and dissipated. The value of the peso declined to 16 centavos below its face value. The Treasury was exhausted. Government expenses were in excess of income and financial bankruptcy was imminent, unless the immediate assistance of foreign capital were obtained.

Governor-General Leonard Wood. — The Wood-Forbes report persuaded the President of the United States not to recommend to Congress immediate independence. He induced General Wood to accept the post of Governor-General, at the sacrifice of an appointment as president of the University of Pennsylvania. General Wood succeeded the acting Governor-General, Mr. Yeater, October 5, 1921. The position of Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction was filled by the appointment of Mr. Eugene Gilmore, Professor of Law in the University of Wisconsin, who had already had experience in the Islands as exchange professor at the University of the Philippines.

General Wood gave his immediate attention to correcting the deficiencies which the report of the Mission disclosed and particularly to improving conditions of health and sani-

tation, securing more hospitals, and providing better care for defectives, insane, lepers, and those afflicted with tuberculosis. He also urged upon the Legislature better provision for more thoroughly trained teachers and improvement in the means of communication. But above all, his attentions were devoted to bringing government finances into order and saving the financial credit. In this he had the effective coöperation of the heads of departments and the Legislature, which passed a well-balanced budget for 1922 as submitted by the Governor-General. Estimates were cut down to the figure of 72,500,000 pesos, a reduction of more than 12,000,000 pesos over the preceding year, which was estimated to leave a balance of 2,500,000 pesos at the end of the fiscal year. In other words, the budget was again balanced.

Governor-General Wood.

Bills were also introduced and passed to revise the Currency Act and to safeguard the issuance of circulatory notes. In order to restore the credit of the government, it was necessary to request Congress to increase the debt limit of the Islands from 60,000,000 pesos to 150,000,000 pesos. Subsequently, by a second act, Congress established the debt capacity by limiting it to not more than 10 per cent of the total property valuation of the Islands, which was estimated

on December 31, 1924, to be 1,518,095,000 pesos. Congress, in authorizing new loans, provided that these should be tax exempt in the United States, placing them thereby on a level with its own bonds. This enabled the Philippine government to sell new bonds on about a $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent basis, which under other circumstances, it is judged, "could not have been borrowed at 10 per cent, even though the custom-houses of the Philippine government were placed in the hands of administrators selected by the underwriters of its bonds." [1]

These new loans were used to bring the Philippine currency, which in 1921 had been at about a 16 per cent discount, back to parity, covering losses sustained by the Philippine National Bank and the deficits left by preceding years. On June 30, 1923, the total bonded indebtedness of the Philippine government amounted to 125,500,000 pesos. The bonded debt of the city of Manila for sewer system, water works, and general purposes amounted to 13,500,000 pesos and that of the city of Cebu for sewer and water works, 250,000 pesos. The bonds of railroads upon which the Philippine government had long previously guaranteed the interest amounted to about 48,000,000 pesos. Thus was remedied an extremely unfortunate period of management of the national fiscal system, including the Philippine National Bank, which had caused heavy losses of public money, the practical bankruptcy of the bank, the depreciation of the currency, and the serious impairment of the public credit.

This disagreeable and difficult job was discharged by General Wood with courage and energy, but his services in this capacity did not spare him from opposition and attack when he chose to exercise the executive authority which it is believed the Jones Act confers upon the Governor-General.

[1] Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1923, page 3.

Governor-General Wood continued in existence the Council of State created by the executive order of his predecessor. The break came when the Governor-General, against the opposition of the Council of State, restored to his position a suspended government official, an American, acquitted of charges both by judicial trial and by administrative investigation.

On July 17, 1923, the Filipino members of the Council of State resigned as a body and commenced a series of strong representations against the Governor-General to the President, to Congress, and to the American people. These representations that the Governor-General had abused his office are based upon the following theory:

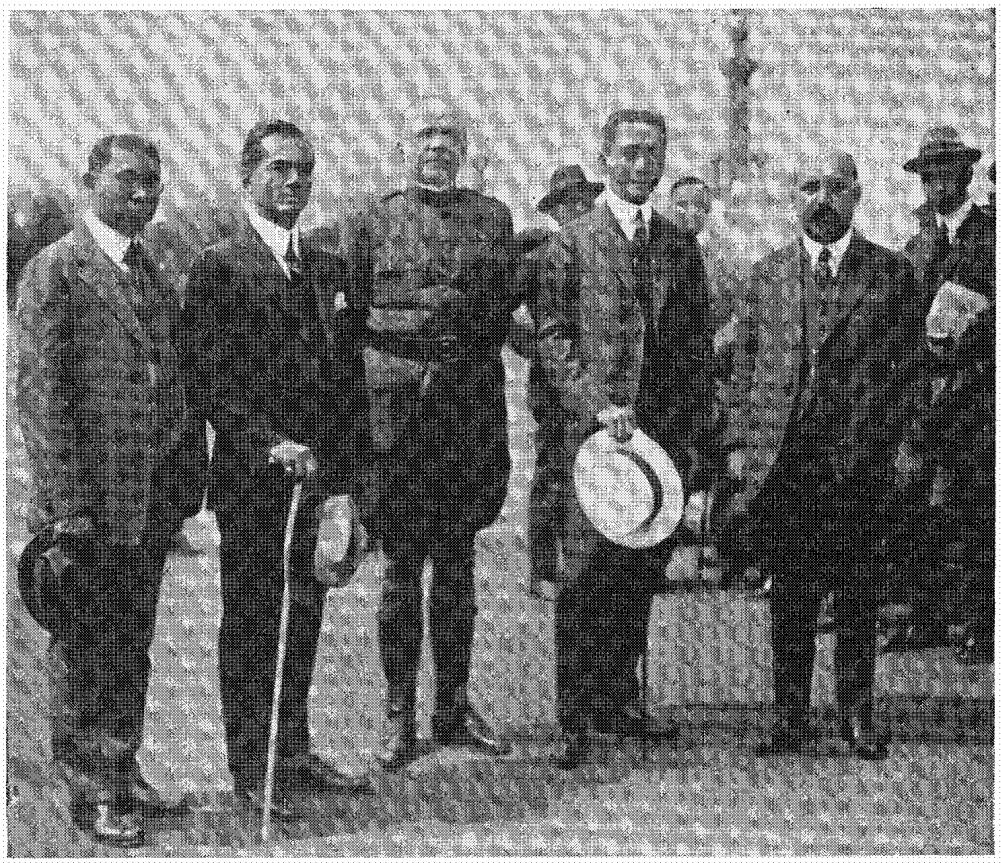
That in spite of the language of the Jones Act, the spirit of that act demanded the control of all internal affairs, including the executive, by Filipinos; that legislation had been passed, and approved by Governor-General Harrison, limiting the executive power of the Governor-General, and that as this legislation had not been vetoed by the President or corrected by Congress it could not legally be disregarded; that a practice had been developed of government responsibility to the Legislature, and that this practice Governor-General Wood now illegally set aside; that the departmental secretaries who were members of his cabinet had become representatives of the Legislature and were no longer agents of the Governor; that the veto power of the Governor-General did not extend to acts of legislation which did not affect the interests of the United States; in a word, that the exercise by the Governor-General of the executive authority after the concessions made by his predecessor was tyrannical and a usurpation.[1]

[1] See the statement by Mr. Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, in the *Congressional Digest*, April, 1924.

The decision of the President and of his legal advisers, to whom these criticisms of the actions of Governor-General Wood were presented, did not support the interpretations made by the members of the Council of State who had resigned, and of the Philippine Legislature, which had sustained their resignations. On October 11, 1923, a telegram was sent by the Secretary of War to the Governor-General, which stated the President's decision to be: that Congress, after full consideration, had vested the authority of control and the supervision over all departments and bureaus in the Governor-General; that these officials were directly responsible to the Governor-General and not to the Legislature; that the executive powers of the Governor-General had not been exceeded or misused by Governor-General Wood in any instance of which the War Department had been advised; if the Legislature had enacted legislation violative of any of the provisions of the organic law of 1916, such legislation was to that extent null and void, and so far as it made encroachments on the authority of the Governor-General, it was in no way binding on that official; that the Legislature, in a number of instances, had delegated legislative power in violation of the principles of constitutional government, and that the inattention of Congress to such legislation could not affect a modification or amendment of the organic law; that the veto power granted to the Governor-General was applicable to all legislation, whether local or otherwise.

In view of the President's decision, the Filipino leaders and parties in opposition to the Governor-General redoubled their efforts to secure from Congress new legislation, according either complete autonomy to the Philippines or the independence of the Islands. The winter and spring session of Congress in 1924 exhibited a greater readiness to sever

political relations between the United States and the Philippines than had previously been observed, when the issue of Philippine independence was raised. Public opinion in the United States, while not generally well informed as to



Second parliamentary Mission to the United States: (left to right) Commissioner Jaime C. de Veyra, Senate President Manuel Quezon, General Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Senator Sergio Osmeña, and Commissioner Isauro Gabaldon.

the Islands, seemed indifferent to the continuance of American sovereignty, and impressed by the insistence of Filipino representatives for complete separation. The unremitting advocacy by Filipinos in the United States of the right of the Islands to separate nationality, and the presence of the several independent commissions, had produced an effect upon the American mind and upon the disposition of the

American people. Advocates of independence were not confined to members of the Democratic Party. They embraced influential Republicans as well. Five measures, bills, or resolutions were introduced in this session of Congress, four of which contemplated independence for the Islands. Thus, while none of the above-mentioned measures received the consideration of Congress at that session, the prospects of early independence legislation seemed more probable than ever before.

Arguments for and against Philippine Independence. — The great majority of Filipinos who are politically active, who have experienced the satisfactions of leadership and of political responsibility, appear unquestionably desirous of the independence of the Philippines and of the unrestrained opportunity for the people of the Islands to work out their own political destiny. In addressing the American people, it is not difficult to evoke sympathy with such an aspiration, or to convince large numbers that such fulfillment of nationality is a matter of clear moral right. It finds further support in the so-called " rights of small nations," and " principle of self-determination," popularized in many countries by the issue of the World War. The Filipinos are able to point to a record of twenty years of remarkable progress, and to a legislative record not inferior to that of many countries of far older political experience. With an assurance and a temerity which are a part of the aggressive and eager psychology of the Filipino people, they feel ready to accept the full direction of their own public affairs.

Nationality is a moving aspiration. It touches deeply the pride, the self-respect, and the ambition of an awakened people. It is capable of stirring a race to greater energy than it has ever known and sometimes, though not always,

it brings with it an increased sense of prudence. On the other hand, there are certain political disadvantages incident to the independence of a small nation, and particularly to the independence of the Philippines, which it seems appropriate to mention here at the conclusion of this volume.

One of the greatest boons to a free people is the sense of complete security and of political stability. It is difficult for the American public to realize how comparatively rare, in the modern political world, such assurance is. For the American people live in states, some great, some small in population and in resources, all of which are guaranteed external defense, republican form of government, and legal protection against acts violative of individual rights. This protection is afforded them by the American Union. Without such protection, it is highly doubtful whether any American state could have satisfactory public order, generally successful government, and such economic development as has been enjoyed. It is even more doubtful if the Philippines, once they cease to be a possession of the American Union, could expect the security, the successful political progress, or the economic development that they have enjoyed in the last twenty-five years.

The multiplication of small states, in one sense, is a reactionary movement. It is a reversal of that continued progress of the world toward a larger unity, a progress to which such institutions as federalism and constitutionally conducted empire have made great contributions. The multiplication of natural frontiers means always and inevitably the obstruction of economic relations, the embarrassment of commerce and of the free movement of people, and the sacrifice of financial advantages. Even where political separation is an escape from intolerable political oppression, that separa-

tion inevitably brings the severance of ties that have been mutually profitable, with resulting losses and disappointments.

If we apply these principles to the question of Philippine independence, it must be admitted that they have force. The Philippines are situated in a part of the world where government is not generally stable, where international rivalries are strong, where freedom from molestation or the prospect of destruction may be assured only by great solidarity and armed preparedness. It is highly doubtful if the United States would be willing to guarantee to defend the Philippines if its political control were extinguished or diminished. The American people are, with all their idealism, a practical nation, and they have a deeply implanted sense that where there is responsibility, there must be adequate authority. And it is probable that they would and should reject any proposition that continued their responsibility for the defense of the Philippines if they were not adequately represented in the government of the Islands.

If independence were accorded, it would not be a military advantage to the United States to retain an army post or a naval base within the territorial area of the Islands. The existence of such stations or bases would be a weakness in the event of a foreign war. They would not themselves be effective for the defense of the Philippines, and they would represent a dissipation of military and naval resources, and a separation of useful elements from that complete concentration of strength necessary in modern warfare. If, at the opening of a conflict, such elements were overcome, the results, while not disastrous, would have an unfortunate moral effect on the prosecution of hostilities. From the military standpoint, therefore, the United States has no need to retain the Philippine Islands, and would probably not

commit itself to the maintenance of any armed forces in the event of independence. The future defense of the Philippines would then become a matter for the exclusive attention of the Filipinos themselves, with its attendant costs and necessary sacrifices. The Philippines at the present time are accorded protection by the so-called Four-Power Pact, negotiated at Washington in 1922 between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan. This treaty pledges inviolability of the Islands as long as they remain an American possession, but it would not, of itself, continue in the event of independence, which would leave the Filipinos to seek their own treaty security.

In the second place, by independence, the Philippines would lose the free markets within the United States for their sugar, tobacco, and other products. These exports are considerable and they are essential to the economic prosperity of the Islands under present conditions. There has already developed within the manufacturing interests of the United States an opposition to the free import of Philippine sugar and tobacco. These protests have made themselves felt in the American Congress, and it is most probable that they would be decisive if the separation of the Philippines occurred. It is not probable that other markets equally open and equally favorable could be acquired. Losses to these Philippine industries and a period of depression would occur.

At the present time, the American government returns to the Philippine treasury a rebate of duties collected in America on Philippine products, which amounts to an annual subsidy of several million pesos. This would cease with independence, and the insular revenues, by so much, would be diminished.

The influence of American authority in the settlement

of such a problem as that of the Moro people — and this influence is undeniably considerable — would no longer be obtainable.

The Congress has adopted a quite definite policy of the exclusion of immigration from foreign countries of Asia, and the present right of immigration of Filipinos to the United States would probably be withdrawn. Such demands have already been made by organized labor in the United States.

The entire bonded debt of the Philippines is held within the United States. In granting independence, Congress would be obliged, as is the case in other countries, to assure the regular amortization of this debt, presumably by the pledging of certain revenues as a portion of the customs. The credit of the United States has been of the highest service to the Philippine government in its fiscal operations, and is a serious support to lose.

It is quite clear that, with the present temper of the American people and Congress, the Philippines cannot continue to have these advantages and independence also. A choice must be made between them.

Finally, to the American people themselves, the separation of the Philippines would occasion a loss, not easy to calculate, but none the less certain. The trade between the two countries has grown to important proportions, and is no less advantageous to the one country than to the other. It would be sensibly diminished by separation, and this would be felt by American exporters as well as by Filipino producers. The administration of the Philippines has never been a financial burden of any consequence to the American treasury. Only at rare intervals has the Congress felt the necessity of appropriating money for the

support of the Island government or of its finances. But the greater interest of the American people in the Philippines arises from the fact that, while distant from America, the Islands are a Pacific Ocean country, and in the Pacific Ocean and in the Far East the United States has a definite policy and is diplomatically active. To relinquish the Philippines would be to diminish greatly the influence of the United States in the settlement of all questions affecting the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. It would be a clear indication to the world that the responsibility of the United States in this part of the world had appreciably diminished, and the voice of the nation's representatives would be less impressively expressed in future international conferences. All of these considerations recommend to both peoples a continuance of political union under terms generous to the legitimate aspirations of the Filipino people, but just also to the American people, in view of its sacrifices and responsibilities.

As has been expressed by a President of the United States, it is inconceivable that the American people should be willing to hold permanently in political bonds a people fully self-conscious and determined to be free. It must be admitted, then, that the decision of the future rests largely with the Filipinos themselves. Above any considerations that have been here presented, it is probable that the most vivid desire of the American people is that, if their responsibility is shortly to end, this should come about in a manner offering the best possible prospects of success to the Filipino nation, while clearly acquitting themselves of all responsibility for a task adequately and fully discharged; that the connection which has lasted a quarter of a century, if it is to terminate, shall end in mutual respect and good will. To the American nation the most important consideration now

is, that their experience in the Islands shall stand as a worthy episode in the history of the nation, one which succeeding generations may look back upon with satisfaction and with the assurance that every responsibility was properly met and generously discharged.

APPENDIX.

SPANISH GOVERNORS OF THE PHILIPPINES.

(1569–1898.)

1569–1572	Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi.
1572–1575	Guido de Labezares.
1575–1580	Don Francisco de Sande.
1580–1583	Don Gonzalo Ronquillo.
1583–1584	Don Diego Ronquillo.
1584–1590	Dr. Don Santiago de Vera.
1590–1593	Don Gomez Perez Dasmariñas.
1593–1593	Pedro de Rojas.
1593–1595	Luis Perez Dasmariñas.
1596–1602	Don Francisco Tello de Guzmán.
1602–1606	Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña.
1606–1608	The Audiencia.
1608–1609	Don Rodrigo de Vivero.
1609–1616	Don Juan de Silva.
1616–1618	The Audiencia.
1618–1624	Don Alonso Fajardo y Tenza.
1624–1625	The Audiencia.
1625-1626	Don Fernando de Silva.
1626–1632	Don Juan Niño de Tabora.
1632–1633	The Audiencia.
1633–1635	Don Juan Cerezo de Salamanca.
1635–1644	Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera.
1644–1653	Don Diego Fajardo y Chacón.
1653–1663	Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.
1663–1668	Don Diego de Salcedo.
1668–1669	Don Manuel de la Peña Bonifaz.
1669–1677	Don Manuel de Leon.
1677–1678	The Audiencia.
1678–1684	Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado.

1684–1689	Don Gabriel de Curuzealegui y Arriola.
1689–1690	Don Alonso de Avila Fuertes.
1690–1701	Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora.
1701–1709	Don Domingo Zabálburu de Echevarri.
1709–1715	Don Martin de Urzua, Conde de Lizarraga.
1715–1717	The Audiencia.
1717–1719	Don Fernando Manuel de Bustamante y Rueda.
1719–1721	Archbishop Fray Francisco de la Cuesta.
1721–1729	Don Toribio José Cosío y Campo.
1729–1739	Don Fernando Valdés y Tamon.
1739–1745	Don Gaspar de la Torre.
1745–1750	Bishop Fray Juan de Arrechederra.
1750–1754	Don José Francisco de Obando y Solís.
1754–1759	Don Pedro Manuel de Arandía Santisteban.
1759–1761	Don Miguel Lino de Ezpeleta (Bishop of Cebu).
1761–1762	Archbishop Manuel Antonio Rojo del Rio y Vieyra.
1762–1764	Don Simon de Anda y Salazar.
1764–1765	Don Francisco Javier de la Torre.
1765–1770	Don José Raon.
1770–1776	Dr. Don Simon de Anda y Salazar.
1776–1778	Don Pedro Sarrio.
1778–1787	Don José Basco y Vargas.
1787–1788	Don Pedro Sarrio.
1788–1793	Don Félix Berenguer de Marquina.
1793–1806	Don Rafael María de Aguilar y Ponce de Leon.
1806–1810	Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.
1810–1813	Don Manuel Gonzalez de Aguilar.
1813–1816	Don José Gardoqui Jaraveitia.
1816–1822	Don Mariano Fernandez de Folgueras.
1822–1825	Don Juan Antonio Martínez.
1825–1830	Don Mariano Ricafort Palacio y Abarca.
1830–1835	Don Pascual Enrile y Alcedo.
1835–1835	Don Gabriel de Torres.
1835–1835	Don Juan Crame.
1835–1837	Don Pedro Antonio Salazar.
1837–1838	Don Andrés García Camba.

1838–1841 Don Luis Lardizábal y Montojo.
1841–1843 Don Marcelino de Oraá Lecumberri.
1843–1844 Don Francisco de Paula Alcalá de la Torre.
1844–1849 Don Narciso Clavería y Zaldua.
1849–1850 Don Antonio María Blanço.
1850–1853 D. Antonio de Urbiztondo y Eguia.
1853–1854 General Ramon Montero y Bladino.
1854–1854 General Manuel Pavia y Lay.
1854–1854 General Ramon Montero (acting).
1854–1856 General Manuel Crespo y Cerrian.
1856–1857 General Ramon Montero (acting).
1857–1860 General Fernando de Norzagaray.
1860–1860 General Ramon Solano y Llánderal (acting).
1860–1861 General Juan Herrera Dávila (acting).
1861–1862 General José Lemery.
1862–1862 Don Salvador Valdez (acting).
1862–1865 General Rafael Echagüe.
1865–1865 General Joaquin de Salas (acting).
1865–1866 General Juan de Lara é Irigoyen.
1866–1866 General Juan Laureano de Sanz (acting).
1866–1866 General de Marina Antonio Osorio (acting).
1866–1866 General Joaquin de Salas (acting).
1866–1869 General José de la Gándara.
1869–1869 General Manuel Maldonado (acting).
1869–1871 General Carlos de la Torre.
1871–1873 General Rafael Izquierdo.
1873–1873 General de Marina Manuel MacCrohon (acting).
1873–1874 General Juan Alaminos y Vivar.
1874–1874 General Manuel Blanço Valderrama (acting).
1874–1877 Vice Admiral José Malcampo y Monje.
1877–1880 General Domingo Moriones y Murillo.
1880–1880 General de Marina Rafael Rodríguez Arias (acting).
1880–1883 General Fernando Primo de Rivera, Marqués de Estella.
1883–1883 General Emilio de Molins, Segundo Cabo (acting).
1883–1885 El Capitán General del Ejercito Joaquín Jovellar y Soler.
1885–1885 General Emilio de Molins (acting).

1885–1888	General Emilio Terrero.
1888–1888	General Antonio Molto (acting).
1888–1888	Vice Admiral Federico Lobatón (acting).
1888–1891	General Valeriano Wéyler.
1891–1893	General Eulogio Despojol, Conde de Caspe.
1893–1893	General Federico Ochando, Segundo Cabo (acting).
1893–1896	General Ramon Blanco y Erenas, Marqués de Peña-Plata.
1896–1897	General Camilo G. de Polavieja, Marqués de Polavieja.
1897–1897	General José de Lachambre y Dominguez (acting).
1897–1898	General Fernando Primo de Rivera, Capitán General, Marqués de Estella.
1898–1898	General Basilio Augustin.
1898–1898	General Fermín Jaúdenes y Alvarez.
1898–1898	General Francisco Rizzo.
1898–1898	General Diego de los Rios (governed in Iloilo from the capture of Manila to the Treaty of Paris).

AMERICAN GOVERNORS.

(1898- .)

1898–1898	General Wesley Merritt.
1898–1900	General Elwell S. Otis.
1900–1901	General Arthur MacArthur.
1901–1904	William H. Taft.
1904–1906	Luke E. Wright.
1906–1906	Henry C. Ide.
1906–1909	James F. Smith.
1909–1913	W. Cameron Forbes.
1913–1921	Francis Burton Harrison.
1921–	General Leonard Wood.

INDEX.